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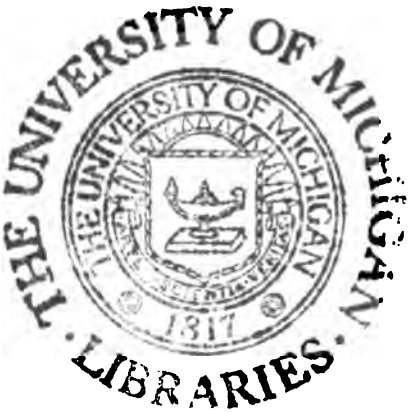
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LIVES, WORKS, AND TIMES

OF

TUSCAN SCULPTORS.

VOL. I.

LONDON
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NEW-STREET SQUARE

3956.

TUSCAN SCULPTORS:

THEIR

LIVES, WORKS, AND TIMES.

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ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

BY

CHARLES C. PERKINS.

'ALS ICH KAN, NIET ALS IK WIL'—(DUTCH PROVERB).

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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1864.

DEDICATED

TO

M. F. A. RIO

IN TOKEN OF THE AUTHOR'S ADMIRATION

AND

AFFECTIONATE REGARD.

PREFACE.

ITALIAN SCULPTURE has, in comparison with Italian Painting, found but few admirers or illustrators. The reason for this does not lie so much in the greater claims of the latter upon lovers and students of art, as in the existence of an antique standard, by which all modern Sculpture is habitually judged, and of which it falls short; while Painting, which cannot be submitted to this formidable test, is judged more according to its merits. Another and more positive reason why Italian Sculpture is so much less known, and consequently less widely appreciated than Italian Painting, is because it can only be studied in Italy,[1] where its masterpieces are not to be found in splendid and commodious galleries, but in scattered churches and palaces, in which they are seldom so placed as to attract the attention of any but careful observers.

[1] The admirable collection of Italian sculpture at the South Kensington Museum, for which the public is chiefly indebted to J. C. Robinson, Esq., whose persevering energy, knowledge, and sagacity in selecting valuable works of art can hardly be overrated, makes it possible for a student to learn more about it in England than anywhere else out of Italy.

Unless therefore the traveller's object be to learn something about its Sculpture, he may travel through Italy without getting any idea of it; whereas he cannot, be he ever so superficial an observer, help gaining some notion of its Painting (at least in its more advanced schools), if he but saunter through the galleries of the great cities of the Peninsula. Again, books upon Italian Painting abound, and every year adds to their number, while the available works upon Italian Sculpture, including those which treat of it in conjunction with Painting, are few. Of these the most voluminous are by Cicognara and Agincourt, neither of them attractive to the general reader, or thoroughly satisfactory to the student; the most delightful are those by M. Rio and Lord Lindsay, which should be in the hands of all who can appreciate the highest sort of art literature, but which treat of Sculpture partially, and from an exclusive point of view.

A few others may be mentioned, such as Burckhardt's Cicerone, and Mr. Robinson's illustrated catalogue of the Kensington Museum, in both of which valuable notices are to be found, but neither of which pretends to give anything like a fully developed account of Sculpture in Italy.

The number of works upon this subject being thus limited, it has seemed to me that a space remained to be filled in the literature of art, in which the names and works of many illustrious artists might be pointed out. With this object I have taken pains to see whatever is most worthy of notice, and to make drawings and collect photographs throughout Italy,

and from them I have selected and executed a series of illustrations[1] which may give an idea of the progress of the Art, whose history I have endeavoured to make as correct as possible by the examination of all MSS., books, and pamphlets, connected with the subject. The result of my journeys and researches, as far as they concern Tuscany, is contained in these volumes; the remainder, relating to Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy, I hope at some future time to publish in a similar form. With this intention I have prefixed to these volumes a compressed account of Sculpture throughout Italy before the Revival, which is equally necessary for the better comprehension of Tuscan Sculpture, whose links with the past, from the days of Niccola Pisano to Michelangelo, are many and clear. As the universal history of art throws light upon any one of its phases, I might, had space permitted, have sketched that of Egypt, Assyria, and Greece, as well as of Etruria and Rome, for with them, as with these, its connection is evident. But such a course would have led me too far, and I have preferred pointing out the connection when occasion offered in the book itself. I cannot lose this opportunity of mentioning the courtesy and kindness with which a student of art is treated in Italy, whose public and private libraries, galleries, palaces and churches are freely thrown open, and whose eminent men of letters and artists vie with each other in assisting those who come among them to seek information. For such assistance, liberality, and politeness, I shall always remember with gratitude the Marchese Selvatico, of Padua; the Cavalier Lazzari and the Sigg. Veludi and Lorenzi,

[1] The wood-blocks have been skilfully engraved by Mr. Cooper.

of Venice; Don Alessandro Melzi, Cavalier Cantu, Professor C. Boito, and Sig. Maggi, of Milan; Sig. Michelangelo Gualandi, of Bologna; Dr. Carpellini, of Siena; the Sigg. Gaetano and Carlo Milanesi, of Florence; and the Cavalier d'Albono of Naples. To many of them the world is indebted for valuable researches into the history of Italian art, without which much that is now clear would still remain unknown or hopelessly confused.

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E del

ETRUSCAN BAS-RELIEF FROM CHIUSI. (Musée Napoléon III. au Louvre.)

TUSCAN SCULPTORS.

INTRODUCTION.

AS Etruria is the cradle[1] of Italian art, we naturally desire to know whence the Etruscans came, that we may gain a clue to its original sources; but unfortunately it is as easy to dispute as it is hard to answer this question in modern as it was in ancient times. Nor, if we consider our inability to decipher the Etruscan language, is it likely to be solved. The generally received tradition has been, that about three centuries before the foundation of Rome, the Etruscans emigrated from Lydia, in Asia Minor, under the guidance of Tyrrhenus, son of their king, and that after expelling the native tribes, they founded a kingdom in the heart of Italy, extending along the coast of the Mediterranean, from Pisæ to Tarquinii, and inland to

Origin of the Etruscans.

B.C. 1040.

[1] 'Ajunt Thuscos plasticum excogitasse' (Cl. Alex. *Stromat.* lib. i., quoted by Tiraboschi, *St. della Lett. Italiana*). 'Statuas primum Thusci in Italia invenisse referuntur' (Cassiodorus, *Var.* vii. 15), which Müller (*Etrusk.* iv. 3, 3) refers to casting in metal. Vide Introduction to Dennis's *Cities and Sepulchres of Etruria.*

the base of the Apennines. Against this, however, the statement of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that their laws, language, religion and customs, had nothing in common with those of the Lydians, strongly militates, and we may not perhaps be far from the truth in supposing (as he and some modern writers have done), that they were really a people of Italian origin.[1] Although their institutions were under the control of priests and augurs, who, in their compound capacity of princes and military chiefs, wielded a well-nigh absolute power, we must conclude, from its want of system and its susceptibility to external influence, that art in Etruria was less under their control than in Egypt, where their despotic rule kept style immutable[2] under the successive dominations of Persians, Greeks and Romans.

This comparative freedom, and the scope given to individuality, which makes it uncertain whether peculiarities belong to special or general development, renders it difficult to form a clear

[1] Mommsen thinks they came into Italy over the Rhætian Alps, and were of the Indo-Germanic stock (*History of Rome*, Eng. Tr. vol. i. ch. ix. p. 128; Micali, *St. degli Antichi Popoli Italiani*, vol. i. p. 99). They called themselves Raseni, the Greeks called them Tyrseni or Tirreni, and the Romans Tusci or Etrusci. Thucydides, Plutarch, and other Greek writers, call the Greek colonists in Italy, Pelasgi and Tyrrheni (Winckelmann, *Mon. Ined.* vol. i. ch. iii. p. 26). Sir G. C. Lewis, in *An Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History*, at p. 297, sect. 6, vol. i., says upon this subject, 'All the elaborate researches of modern scholars respecting the primitive history of the Pelasgians, the Siceli, the Tyrrhenians, the Etruscans, the Aborigines, the Latins and other national races, must be considered as not less unreal than the speculations concerning judicial astrology, or the discovery of the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life. Not only the results of the uncritical Italian historians, such as Micali, but those arrived at by the most learned and sagacious of the German inquirers, as Niebuhr and Ottfried Müller, must be rejected when they relate to this unknown and undiscoverable period.' See Niebuhr's *Lectures on the History of Rome*, ed. by Dr. Schmitz, 3 vols., London 1852, for his views on the subject, vol. i. pp. 57–66.

[2] Plato remarks that in his time Egyptian Art was neither better nor worse than that of a thousand years before (Dr. H. Brunn, *Ueber die Grundverschiedenheit in Bildungs Princip der Griechischen und Aegyptischen Kunst*).

division of Etruscan sculpture into styles, though for purposes of classification they may with sufficient accuracy be specified as three—namely, the Egizio, the Toscanico, and Greco-Etrusco. To the first belong the earliest attempts to represent the human form; which, like those of every other people, were rude and imperfect imitations of the general outlines of natural forms, representing figures rectilinear in outline, without action, standing or sitting, robed in tightly fitting garments, with long extremities, with closely joined feet, wide staring eyes and crooked mouths.[1] During this period the Etruscans also made terra-cotta vases, stamped with little figures, and strangely contorted monsters and demons, symbolic of a dark and superstitious faith. In these reliefs, which are of a thoroughly national character, the figures are represented in profile, are hard and dry in form, with exaggerated faces, and hair arranged in minute ringlets, or left loose and floating upon their shoulders, and robed in garments fitting to the body, or marked by loose and rectilinear folds. To account for the Egyptian influence perceptible in this first style, which also left its traces upon the second or Tuscanic,[2] we must remember that the Etruscans were a commercial people, and as such had frequent communication with Egypt; and that being eminently susceptible to new impressions, they adopted something of the rigidity, dryness, and precision of its art.

Sculptural styles.

Egyptian style.

Causes of Egyptian influence.

The principles of the two schools were, however, diametrically opposed, for while that of Egypt was the product of a never

Opposite principles.

[1] The Etruscans were very powerful B.C. 992, about which time Millin thinks they first turned their attention to art (*Dict. des Beaux Arts*, Article 'Étrusque'). 'Sine manibus, sine pedibus, sine oculis, aut pedibus conjunctis inter se' (Borbone, *Delle Statue*, ch. i. p. 6). 'Dopo le opere Egiziane le più antiche sono quelli degli Etruschi' (Winckelmann, *op. cit.* ch. iii. p. 26). 'Le opere però trà di loro analoghe nei laberinti, un certo mistero di cerimonie religiose, que' risini in bocca alle figure femminili, quelle attacature delle dita e delle membra, etc. etc., hanno dell' affinità.'—P. della Valle, *Vite de' Pittori Antiche*, prefazione, p. 13.

[2] Dr. H. Brunn, *Ueber die Grundverschiedenheit in Bildungs Princip der Griechischen und Aegyptischen Kunst*, and two admirable papers upon Etruscan

varying architectural and mathematical system, that of Etruria, even when rudest, was free and individual, imitating nature, as is seen in the working out of muscles, veins, hair, and draperies. Furthermore, while art both in Egypt and Greece was cultivated for the decoration of great public edifices; in Etruria, where few such existed, it was of a comparatively private character, and chiefly confined to the making of vases, mirrors, and goldsmiths' work; though in her palmy days (when the Tuscanic style was purest) her sculptors were also employed in making statues of gilded bronze or terra-cotta[1] for the pediments of temples, in stamping and casting beaten plates of metal with varied ornaments, in making engraved work (toreutica), and in adorning sarcophagi of all dimensions with funeral processions or combats between warriors in very low or half relief, and with effigies of the dead, either of life size (and these neither ill-proportioned nor stiff in attitude), or small clumsy portraits of the 'obesi et pingues Etrusci,' with big heads, thick bodies, and ill-fashioned extremities,[2] numerous examples of which may be seen in the Campana collection at the Louvre, as well as in the museums at Chiusi and Perugia. Of their skill in bronze work we can judge by the famous Wolf at the Capitol, and the Chimæra in the Gallery of the Uffizi at Florence, which, like many other statues and bas-reliefs, also show us how clever they were in representing animals, whose anatomical structure they had frequent opportunity of studying, in the victims slain for examination by the augurs.

Tuscanic style.

As the first Etruscan style was that of an uninstructed people, who contented themselves with a superficial imitation of nature,

Art, by the same writer, entitled *Pitt. Etruschi* and *Scoperte Tarquiniense*, extracted from the *Annali dell' Istituto Archæologico*, t. xxxii. Tavole 46 & 47, vol. vi.

[1] 'Ornantque signis fictilibus aut æreis inauratis earum fastigia Tuscanico more.'—*Vitruvius*, lib. viii. ch. ii.

[2] The Etruscans were distinguished from the Latin and Sabellican Italians, as well as from the Greeks, by their very bodily structure (Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. i. ch. ix. p. 125).

so the second was that of a school of artists, who aimed at science, but, being without that knowledge of anatomy which would have given them the key to natural action, expressed it by exaggerated movement of limb, strongly and often erroneously marked muscles, and extravagant gestures. So, also, as the first resembled the

ETRUSCAN HEADS. (Musée Napoléon III. at the Louvre.)

Egyptian, the second bore some resemblance to the Æginetan,[1] though in points which lie somewhat upon the surface, and are balanced by essential differences. For the regularly undulating folds, disposed in parallel lines, and those delicate indications of drapery, which seem accidentally to arise from texture, as well as

Tuscanic and Æginetan compared.

[1] This resemblance was noticed by Strabo, who travelled both in Egypt and Etruria, and who speaks of the Stile Toscanico as like the Egyptian and Ancient Greek. Like Quintilian and Pliny, Strabo meant by the Tuscanic style that which was in vogue up to the time of the absorption of Etruscan into Greek art: all such works were styled by the Latins 'opera et signa Tuscanica.' The Conte Gian Carlo Conestabile, in a discourse *Degli Etruschi*, &c. (Perugia, 1859), says that the first style of the Etruscans lasted till the third century of Rome. After that time they entered into the Stile Toscanico, parallel with the Æginetan in Greece; in the fifth century A.U.C., Greek art had a universal influence. Decadence of the Etruscans. Veii fell in 357 A.U.C., and in 444 A.U.C. the battle of Vadimone decided the fate of the nation.

that ideal character of face, which marks the works of the Archaic period in Greece, were substituted in Etruria draperies which seem to adhere to the body, so accurately do they reveal its forms, and countenances which, even in the fanciful monsters of its symbolism (such as winged sphinxes, griffins, hippocamps, and men with fishes' tails), are mere realistic exaggerations. Being without the ideality of the Greeks, and that deep knowledge of nature which enabled them to combine the highest qualities of form into a noble abstract, the Etruscans reproduced what struck them as most characteristic, bestowed great pains upon accessories, and worked out details in the nude, which the Greeks, jealous of everything that could interfere with the beauty of the whole, would have kept strictly subordinate. Hence arose a want of harmony in Etruscan works, which, however admirable in parts, fail in the 'ensemble.'

The obstacles to healthy development.

The perpetual conflict between free thought and archaic influence checked healthy development, and disturbed harmony of style; while the custom of using for sculpture, paintings and incised drawings upon metal (sgraffiti), books of models, which the artists of Volterra, Chiusi, and Vulci repeated with slight modifications, or combined into a more or less harmonious whole (when a new subject required representation), cramped their powers of invention and caused them to degenerate into mere copyists. His chief aim being reality, the Etruscan artist, from very early times, used colour upon the draperies of his figures, and in the background of his bas-reliefs; generally with severe simplicity of taste, and breadth, and with a far less meretricious effect than if he had applied it to art of a more ideal character.

Colour used in sculpture.

Greek Etruscan style.

The third style of Etruscan art, which is characterised as 'Greco-Etrusco,' was marked by a gradually increasing Greek influence,[1] which in the end completely effaced all marks of nationality. To its best period belong such admirable works as the statue of the Orator (Arringatore) in the Uffizi, the charm-

[1] Hellenism invaded Italy after the taking of Syracuse, B.C. 212.

ing Boy with the Dove at Leyden, the 'Putti' in the Vatican, and many other bronzes scattered through European museums.

Etruscan bronzes.

Bronze seems to have early become the favourite material of the Etruscan sculptor, and in it he achieved his greatest triumphs. The activity in this branch of art was so great, that some of the cities of Etruria seem to have been peopled with bronze statues. After the reduction of Volsinium (Bolsena) the Romans carried away no less than 2,000, some of which were probably of the same colossal size as the great bronze Apollo, set up in Rome in commemoration of the victory gained over the Samnites by the Romans, which Pliny tells us was so high that it could be seen from the summit of the Alban Hill.[1]

B.C. 267.

The Etruscan artists were equally expert in casting suits of armour in bronze and precious metals, whose surfaces they adorned with chiselled figures. These, as well as their candelabra, their gold cups, and articles of jewellery, were transported by their merchants to foreign lands, and highly esteemed at Athens in the days of Pericles.[2] In this success, however, lay the causes of degeneration, for when art was chiefly valued as an aid to luxury, and was restricted to the making of cinerary urns, mirrors and jewellery, it fell into the hands of men who laboured exclusively for the satisfaction of a wealthy and luxurious people, and was thus reduced more and more to the level of a trade.

Causes of degeneration.

Greek influence. How and when brought to bear upon Etruria.

The Greek influence[3] which began to make itself felt in Etruria during the first century of Rome, was brought about by the intercourse of the Etruscans with the inhabitants of Cumæ, and the Samians and Rhodians dwelling in Campania. From them they learned the Hellenic myths, the stories of Thebes and Troy, which, having themselves no heroic history, they delighted to illustrate.

[1] 'Amplitudo tanta est ut conspiciatur a Latiario Jove.'—*Pliny*, lib. xxxiv. ch. vii.

[2] Phidias shod his Minerva with 'sandali Tirreni,' B.C. 428.

[3] The early influence of Greek art upon the Etruscans is proved by the fact that about B.C. 550 (A.U.C. 204) the Etruscan cities cast gold and silver coins after the pattern of those of Attica and Asia Minor.

The style of art in Campania during the second century of Rome was hard and dry, like the Æginetan, as we know by the medals of Sybaris, Posidonia, Cadmia, &c.: the connection between that and the Etruscan is, therefore, easily established. From that time until the middle of the fifth century, Etruscan corsairs infested the Tyrrhenian sea, and Tarquinii, the modern Corneto, had direct communication with Corinth; from which intercourse comes the tradition, that three Greek artists, bearing the significant names of Eucheir, Diopos and Eugrammus, the moulder, fitter, and draughtsman, accompanied Demaratus, father of Tarquin, when he fled from Corinth, after the expulsion of the Bacchiades
B.C. 657. in the twenty-ninth Olympiad, and introduced the plastic arts into Italy.[1] According to Herodotus, the Greeks knew nothing of Italy a century before the foundation of Rome; but shortly after
B.C. 721–708. that event we find positive proof of their acquaintance with the southern portion of the peninsula, in the colonies of Sybaris and Tarentum,[2] whose artists, as well as those who worked in other parts of Campania and Sicily, were in no respect denationalised, as close relations were kept up between the Greco-Italian towns and the mother country.

Rhegian sculptors. Rhegium (the modern Reggio) gave birth to two sculptors famous in Greek annals, Clearchus and his great scholar Pythagoras. Clearchus, said to have been a scholar of Dædalus (which would signify that his statues were of the earliest type of Greek art), or of Dipoinos and Skyllis, is mentioned by Pausanias as having made a statue of Jupiter (Ζεὺς ὕπατος) out of beaten plates of metal fastened together with nails (σφυρήλατον), which stood near the temple of Minerva at Sparta, and was looked upon as the oldest of all bronze works; but as this method of work is
B.C. 776. older than the manner of reckoning by Olympiads, and as Rhegium

[1] 'Demaratus vero ex eadem urbe profugum, qui in Hetruria Tarquinius Priscus regem populi Romani genuit, comitatos fictores Euchira et Eugrammum, ab iis Italiæ traditam plasticen.'—*Pliny*, lib. xxxv. ch. xii.

[2] Naxos in Sicily is said to be the oldest of all Greek towns founded by strict colonisation in Italy or in Sicily (Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. book i. ch. x.).

was not founded till about the fourteenth Olympiad, he could not have been its author. Pythagoras, who stands among the most noted early Greek sculptors, is said to have been the first who strove to free himself from traditional expression in art, marking out nerves and veins, and carefully elaborating the hair; to have been, in short, a realist, who closely studied nature.[1] His works, we are also told, were the first which showed a feeling for rhythm and symmetry, rhythm being the expression of a dominant feeling pervading the whole body, as in his famous Limper (Philoctetes), which we know through two antique gems,[2] and symmetry the just relation of different parts to each other. He is said to have worked exclusively in bronze, and to have seldom modelled any but male figures, such as the wrestler Lentiscus, the boxers Protolaus and Eutimus, and the athlete Dromeus.

From Etruria sprang, as we have seen, an original style of art, which, though more or less influenced by that of Egypt and Greece, asserted its vitality throughout her national existence. This, however, was never the case with Rome, a city founded by rude shepherds, who naturally turned for builders, artists, and men of letters, to their great and powerful neighbours, renowned for knowledge, long before their own community was constituted; and while they fought themselves into life, gladly left to Etruria

Early art at Rome purely Etruscan.

[1] Pliny, lib. xxxiv. ch. viii.

[2] One at Berlin, the other at Bonn. Vide I. Overbeck, *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik*, Band i. p. 85. See also *Geschichte der Griechischen Kunstler*, von Dr. H. Brunn, vol. i. pp. 48, 49, 50. Clearchus probably flourished about the 60th Olympiad, B.C. 486. Of Pythagoras, Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. ch. viii.) says, 'Hic primus nervos et venas expressit, capillumque diligentius.' In Rhegium, which was a Greek colony, the Greek language was spoken until a very late period, so that in one sense both these artists may be called Greeks. Vitruvius (lib. iii. cap. i.) gives the following definitions of symmetry and proportion as derived from the human body and applied to architecture: 'Ædium compositio constat ex symmetria, cujus rationem diligentissime architecti tenere debent. Ea autem petitur a proportione quæ Græce ἀναλογία dicitur. Proportio est ratæ partis membrorum in omni opere totiusque commodulatio, ex qua ratio efficitur symmetriarum.'

the task of supplying that which they were incapable of drawing from their own resources.[1] Thus the agger of Servius Tullius, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, that monument of the Etruscan kings, whose pediment was surmounted by a quadriga, and in whose 'cella' stood a red painted statue of the god, made by Vulcanius of Veii,[2] and the statue of Romulus, which commemorated the conquest of Fidenæ, were all Etruscan works. They also taught the Romans to substitute the temple for the consecrated space, and the house for the hut,[3] and introduced among them the arch, that vital principle of Rome's constructive power, and essential element of her architectural magnificence.[4]

The few names of Roman artists which have come down to us, and the early existence of guilds of potters, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths at Rome, are not sufficient to sustain the theory that there was anything like a national school there, though there were doubtless then natives who received instructions from Etruscan artists, as later from their Greek successors. The early Romans

Causes for the neglect

[1] 'Intentus perficiendo templo fabris undique ex Hetruria accitis.'—*Livy*, lib. i. cap. xxi. 10. Until B.C. 190 all temple statues were made of bronze, wood, or clay; the use of marble was not common at Rome until A.U.C. 573, and the quarries at Luni (Carrara) were not discovered till shortly before Pliny's day, A.D. 23—79.

[2] The name and place of nativity of this artist are given in the Bamburg MS. thus, 'Et Vulcani Veis accitum.' His place has been hitherto usurped by Turrianus from Fregellæ, or Fregenæ (Brunn, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 530).

[3] As is proved by the application of the term Tuscanic to the oldest form of such architectural constructions (Mommsen's *Rome*, vol. i. p. 246).

[4] The building of the magnificent Roman arches began with Appius Claudius, B.C. 312 (Mommsen's *Rome*, vol. i. pp. 490, 493). 'Da principio ogni lavoro d' arte era Etrusco' (Cantu, *St. degli Italiani*, vol. i. ch. xlii. p. 623). B.C. 496, Demophilus and Gorgasos (Sicilian Greeks) adorned the temple of Ceres, at Rome, with terra-cotta figures and paintings. This date becomes important as fixing the period when Greek art supplanted Etruscan at Rome, as, according to Varro, 'ante hanc ædem Thuscanica omnia in ædibus fuisse' (Pliny, lib. xxxv. cap. xii.). If this Demophilus be identical with Demophilus of Himæra, master of Zeuxis, who flourished about forty years later, the temple of Ceres must have been decorated a long time after it was built (Mommsen's *Rome*, vol. i. p. 498; Brunn, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 531).

despised art, and left it to foreigners and slaves, 'that they might find in it forgetfulness of and consolation for servitude.'[1] Their dominant passion was patriotism; and in the defence and aggrandisement of their country, and the fulfilment of those filial obligations which made their homes miniatures of the commonwealth, they found a sufficient occupation for their whole nature.[2]

of art among the early Romans.

The laws of Numa contain regulations bearing upon art, which prove that even in his reign it was considered of some importance. One of these, which forbade the representation of the gods for purposes of worship,[3] was set aside by Tarquinius Priscus, who employed his countryman Vulcanius of Veii to make a statue of Jupiter for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he founded and Tarquinius Superbus finished. Another restricted the height of statues erected to illustrious persons to three feet, whence we may suppose that the bronze statues of Horatius Cocles and Clelia were not above that size.[4]

The laws of Numa, concerning art.

In Numa's reign we find the name of one Roman sculptor,

Roman sculptors.

[1] 'Ut haberent hæc oblectamenta et solatia servitutis.'—*Cicero.*

[2] During a period of 400 years Roman literature furnishes no proof of a feeling for art among that great military people, which would be impossible had any such ever existed (*Ueber den Kunstsinn der Römer in der Kaiserzeit*, von Dr. L. Friedlander, Königsberg, 1852).

[3] 'Hic vetuit Romanis hominis vel bestiæ formam tribuere Deo, neque fuit ulla apud eos antè vel picta vel ficta imago Dei, sed centum sexaginta annos templa extruxerunt et cellos Diis, simulacrum per id temporis nullum habuerunt, nefas putantes angustiora exprimere humilioribus, neque aspirari aliter ad Deum quam mente posse.'—*Numa, Plutarchæ Chæronensis quæ extant omnia*, &c. ed. Francfort, 1620, p. 65. 'Divisit autem civitatem per artes tibicinum, *aurificum*, fabrum, tinctorum, sutorum, coriariorum, *ærariorum, figulorum*.'—*Ibid.* p. 71.

[4] Thence called Tripedaneæ; those of smaller dimensions, whether made of gold, silver, bronze, or ivory, were called sigillæ. Dechazelle, *Studii sulla Storia delle Arti*, vol. ii. p. 48. It is, of course, quite uncertain if these statues were erected in the lifetime of these persons; if so, they must have been Etruscan in style. In regard to those of Romulus and Tatius, mentioned by Pliny (lib. xxxv. 11. 3), it is most improbable, as they were nude, i. e. in the Greek Heroic style, then necessarily unknown at Rome. 'La nudité, qui était dans les mœurs grecques, n'était point dans les mœurs romaines.'—Ampère, *Hist. Rom. à Rome*, vol. iv. p. 4.

Mamurius Vetturius, who having made several facsimiles in bronze of the 'ancile,' that small shield which the Romans believed to have fallen from heaven, demanded as his recompense, that his name should be always inserted at the end of the Saliaric songs.[1]

An interval of more than five hundred years occurs between this sculptor and the next known to us, whose name, Novius Plau-
B.C. 250. tius, is inscribed upon the base of a little group, consisting of a young man and two satyrs of a rude national type, and evidently by a far less skilful hand than that which engraved the admirable compositions around the celebrated bronze Cistus in the Kircherian museum at Rome, upon the top of which it stands;[2] a second, Novius (Novius Blesamus), sculptor at Rome, probably flourished at a much later date.[3] Other sculptors, who lived at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century after the foundation of Rome, are Caius Ovius,[4] and Caius Pompeius, whose names are inscribed upon a small bust of Medusa, and upon a little bronze Jupiter in the same museum: and Canoleius, and Rupius or Rufius, who made a terra-cotta figure now in the museum at

[1] 'Præmium artis Mamurio tributum autumant fuisse carmen quoddam, quod in illius memoriam Salii tripudio illo peragunt.'—Plutarch, *Numa*, p. 69. 'Eas peltas ancylia ex figura vocant.'—*Ibid.* p. 68. 'Octavo anno regni Numæ, pestilentia quæ per Italiam vulgabatur urbem quoque vastabat. Perculsis civibus tradunt peltam æneam in manus Numæ cœlitus delapsam, de hac mira prædicasse regem, ex Egeria se et Camœnis accepisse, esse ea arma ad salutem urbis missa et servanda cum undecim aliis, quæ pari figura, amplitudine ex forma faciunda erant. . . . Eam peltam obtulit Numa artificibus, excitavitque eos similes ad effigiendas. Torpentibus cæteris Veturium Mamurium insignem opificem ita expressisse effigiem, et imaginem ejus representasse, ut ne ipse quidem dignoscere ultra Numa posset.'—*Ibid.* p. 68.

[2] The inscription, in old Latin, is to this effect: 'Novios Plautois (for Plautios) med Romai fecit. Dindia Macolnia filea dedit.' The compositions upon the body of the Cistus relate to the Argonautic expedition, e.g. the victory of Pollux over Amycus, King of the Bebryces (Ampère, *op. cit.* vol. iv. p. 110).

[3] Judging by the Latin of his epigraph (Brunn, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 614).

[4] 'Caius Ovius Oufentina fecit.' The tribus Oufentina dates from A.U.C. 436. 'Caius Pomponius Quirina opus.' Tribus Quirina A.U.C. 516 (Brunn, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 529 et seq.).

Perugia; Publius Cincius Salvius, whose name is inscribed upon the bronze pine cone which formerly stood upon the top of the mausoleum of Hadrian; Flavius Largonius, who made bronze statuettes; Titius Gemellus, who, we learn by a Greek inscription, modelled his own bust; Copronius, who personified in fourteen figures the nations conquered by Pompey;[1] and Decius, who cast a colossal bronze head for the Consul Publius Lentulus Spinther,[2] which was rated as inferior to its pendant, the work of a Greek sculptor named Chares.

From the scant list of sculptors bearing Roman names we must deduct the affranchised Greeks who, according to custom, adopted those of their patrons, such as Marcus Cossutius Cerdo[3] and Lollius Alcamenes;[4] while on the other hand we might make some additions to it from those apparently Greek, since the Greek language became so much that of art at Rome, that Roman artists sometimes inscribed their names in Greek characters upon their works.[5]

It would be unreasonable to conclude that no other Roman sculptors existed, because their names have not come down to us; for when art became the fashion during the Empire, and Greek artists abounded at Rome, they probably had able Roman scholars, who may have made some of those copies from Scopas, Myron, and Lysippus which have passed in our day as originals.[6]

[1] 'Idem et a Copronio XIV. nationes, quæ sunt circa Pompeii, factas, auctor est.'—Pliny, lib. XXXVI. c. v.

[2] Consul A.U.C. 697, perhaps became possessed of the head of Chares through his political connection with Rhodes (Brunn, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 603).

[3] This artist, whose name appears on the base of a statue found at Lanuvium, might be taken for a Roman, if another inscription on a statue in the British Museum did not tell us that he was the freedman of Marcus Cossutius (Dilettanti, i. 71, cited by Ampère, vol. iv. p. 79).

[4] He is represented in a bas-relief at the Villa Albani as holding a bust which he has just terminated. He was a Greek, as his name proves, who had joined the name of Lollius to his own, because a Lollius had enfranchised him (Ampère, vol. iv.).

[5] E. g. Γναίος for Gnaeus; pâte de verre, cited by Winckelmann.

[6] Some of these were brought as slaves to Rome, others came of their own

Love of art first awakened by the Roman generals.

A love of art was first awakened by the Roman generals, who gave their fellow-citizens the opportunity of seeing the masterpieces of sculpture which they brought as trophies from Sicily, Macedonia, and Campania, to fill the city temples and public places. This system of plundering, which was practised at an earlier time from religious motives,[1] was begun, for plunder's sake, B.C. 212. by Marcus Marcellus after the capture of Syracuse; it found no sympathy with men of the old school like Quintus Fabius, who B.C. 209. allowed the Tarentines 'to retain their indignant gods,'[2] and Scipio Africanus the Less, who, after the reduction of Carthage, was moved by the advice of the historian Polybius to give back to the Sicilians the statues of which they had been plundered by the Carthaginians,[3] but was imitated by Titus Flaminius, Marcus B.C. 194 / 187 / 167 / 146 Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Paulus, and Mummius, whose conquests largely added to the treasures of art at Rome. The latter general displayed a rapacity only equalled by his ignorance, when he sold the most remarkable works of art which fell into his hands at Corinth to the King of Pergamus, and warned the captains of the

accord, such as Arcesilaus, Zopiros, and Praxiteles, who wrote upon the Fine Arts, and Lala di Cizico (Cantu, *Storia degli Italiani*, vol. i. ch. xlii. p. 624).

[1] E. g. The Juno brought from Veii by Camillus; the Jupiter Imperator from Præneste, by Titus Quintius Cincinnatus (Livy, vi. 29); the Venus Victrix, by Fabius Fabricianus, taken from the Samnites; the Hercules, by Fabius Maximus.

[2] 'The moderation of Fabius,' says M. Ampère (vol. iii. p. 595), 'may have been induced by the fact, that the statues being colossal were difficult of removal, as well as by his want of appreciation of their beauty.'

[3] Polybius considered the gold and silver of conquered cities to be the only lawful objects of plunder, and these because they were instruments for renewed resistance. In Frag. iii. lib. ix. of his History we find these words: 'At quæ aliena sunt ab illa quam diximus potentia, ea Romani poterant et comitantem invidiam simul, ibidem relinquere unde primo sunt annota; ita ut patriæ suæ gloriam amplificarent; non tabulis et typis, sed gravitate morum publicorum, et animi magnitudine ipsam decorantes.'—Polybii *Historiæ, lib. qui supersunt*, Isaacus Causabonus primus vulgavit, p. 550. 1 vol. folio, Paris, 1609. Polybius was a native of Megalopolis in the Peloponnesus, and son of the Achæan statesman Lycortus. He was carried to Rome as one of the Achæan hostages, and lived there from B.C. 167–150.

vessels in which the remainder were to be conveyed to Italy, that if any were lost or injured on the voyage, they must replace them.[1]

The daily sight of these masterpieces roused the desire to swell their number; and as the Romans themselves could not furnish artists capable of doing so, the best living Greek masters were induced by promises of liberal patronage to take up their abode at Rome.[2] Amateurs and collectors (many of whom had studied in Greece) increased in number, some of whom, between the latter days of the Republic and the close of Hadrian's reign, spent immense sums upon statues, pictures, and gems, rather from ostentatious motives than from real love or knowledge of art; considering their reputation as connoisseurs safe, if they took care to purchase works signed with a great name, and estimated at

Greek artists called to Rome.

[1] Mummius withdrew from sale at Corinth, because King Attalus offered for it 6,000 denarii (246*l.*), the Bacchus of Aristides, the first picture publicly exhibited at Rome (Mommsen's *Rome,* vol. iii. p. 475).

[2] (Agincourt, vol. iii. p. 51, note 2.) The works that were produced at Rome proceeded from the hands of foreigners; the few Roman artists of this period (B.C. 167–143) who are particularly mentioned, are without exception Italian or transmarine Greeks, who had migrated thither, e.g. Hermodorus of Salamis (B.C. 143), architect; Pasiteles, the sculptor, from Magna Grecia, who furnished images of the gods in ivory for Roman temples; Metrodorus of Athens, painter and philosopher, who painted pictures for the triumph of L. Paulus (B.C. 167, A.U.C. 587; Mommsen's *Rome,* vol. iii. p. 476). Among the Greek sculptors who worked at Rome, were Posis, who, says Varro (Pliny, xxxv. 45. 2), imitated fruit with wonderful truth to nature; Ophelion, son of Aristonidas, who made the portrait of Sextus Pompeius, and who (says M. Ampère), if he was, as is probable, a freedman of the family, may have made the statue of Pompey in the Palazzo Spada at Rome, supposed to be that at the base of which Cæsar fell; Arcesilaus, employed by Lucullus and Cæsar; Pasiteles (who was made a Roman citizen); Stephanos, and Menelaus, Greeks established at Rome towards the end of the Republic: probably also Posidonius of Ephesus, Lædus, Statiates, Pytheas, Zopyrus, and Teucer, who, Pliny says, lived about Pompey's time. Diogenes, who decorated the Pantheon, and Thaletius (freedman of Mæcenas), a bronze caster, belong to the first century of the Empire. Almost all the engravers upon fine stones have Greek names—very few have Latin names; among these are Gneus, Aulus, and Saturnius Severus (Brunn, *op. cit.* pp. 546, 51, 60, 66, 78, 79).

a high price: though they ran the risk of being deceived by some of those clever Greek dealers who manufactured false originals at Rome, writing the name of Praxiteles on new marble, and that of Myron upon beaten silver.[1]

Eminent collectors at Rome. B.C. 116–28.

Among the most celebrated collectors of Greek art whose names we meet with were, Terentius Varro, called the most learned of the Romans, of whom Pliny has preserved to us so many

B.C. 110–57.

interesting notices; Lucullus, the friend of the artist Arcesilaus, whose taste and knowledge are vaunted by Cicero, who caused an Apollo thirty cubits in height (which cost fifty talents) to be

B.C. 63–12.

transported from Apollonia to the capital; Verres, who carried out his wholesale plunder of Sicily by means of two artists from Cibrya, named Tlepolemus and Hiero, whom Cicero, in his second Verrine Oration, calls his hunting dogs;[2] Marcus Vipsanius

B.C. 60.

Agrippa, who in one year opened a hundred fountains at Rome, which he decorated with a hundred and fifty statues; Æmilius Scaurus, the ædile, who adorned a temporary theatre, which he built for public games, with no less than 3,000 statues;[3] Julius Cæsar, who collected gems, ivories and bronzes in great quantity; Mæcenas, the patron of Horace; and Pompey, through whose triumph that taste for engraved gems was introduced which afterwards became a universal passion.

[1] 'Ut quidem artifices nostro faciunt seculo,
Qui pretium operibus majus inveniunt, novo,
Si marmori adscripserunt Praxitelem suo,
Detrito Myronem argento.'—*Phædrus*, lib. v. fab. i.

[2] 'Cibyratæ sunt fratres quidam, Tlepolemus et Hiero: quorum alterum fingere opinor e cera solitum esse, alterum esse pictorem. . . . Eos jam bene cognitos et re probatos secum in Siciliam duxit. Quo posteaquam venerunt, mirandum in modum (canos venaticos diceres) ita odorabantur omnia et pervestigabant, ut, ubi quidque esset, aliqua ratione invenirent.' (*In Verrem*, act. ii. lib. iv. *De Signis*, cap. 13 et 14.) Cibyra was a great city of Phrygia Magna, on the borders of Caria. It was added to the Roman Empire in B.C. 83. Verres was prætor urbanus in B.C. 74, and afterwards proprætor in Sicily, where he remained for nearly three years (73—71).

[3] A decree of the Senate, B.C. 157, forbade permanent theatres. Pompey, B.C. 57, first built one of stone, capable of holding 40,000 spectators (Cantu, *op. cit.* vol. i. ch. xlii. p. 625).

Following the example of Augustus, during whose reign art reached a pitch of excellence unsurpassed even in Greece, except in the age of Pericles, the wealthy Romans adorned porticoes and theatres with Greek works, among which figured those of Scopas and Myron, and the famous Venus Anadyomene of Apelles (brought from Cos, and valued at one hundred talents), and with countless new statues, sculptured by the pupils of the greatest Greek masters at Rome. That these men deteriorated in their foreign home is not to be wondered at, if we consider the lower standard of taste, as well as the greater heaviness and comparative inelegance of Roman costume, and the decided inferiority of Roman beauty to that of the Greeks; but that there were artists of great ability among them, is sufficiently proved by the statue of Augustus, lately dug up at the villa of Livia, and now added to the precious marbles of the Vatican. In general conception, in arrangement of drapery, and in the Phidian beauty of the reliefs which adorn the cuirass, we recognise Greek genius, knowledge, and skill; but in the elaborate finish of the accessories, which a Phidias would have kept subordinate, we see signs of that decay in taste, which sprang from a desire to gratify a far less cultivated people than the Greeks, and which tended to make art the slave of individual caprice.

Taste varied at Rome in accordance with that of the ruling emperor. Tiberius loved obscenity, and art became obscene; Caligula valued it as a means of self-adulation, and placed his own vile head upon Greek statues decapitated for that purpose; Nero, who thought only of show, introduced the fashion of making statues of coloured marble with extremities of white marble or bronze, gilded the masterpieces of Lysippus, and set up a colossal statue of himself, 110 feet in height, the defects of which showed how much the art of casting in bronze had been forgotten.[1] At

[1] 'Ea statua indicavit interisse fundendi scientiam'—*Pliny*, lib. xxxiv. ch. vii. It was made by Zenodorus after ten years of labour, and cost 40,000,000

the same time he added to the treasures of Greek art at Rome the masterpieces of Olympia and the 500 bronze statues stolen from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, with which he decorated the Golden House. Under the Flavian emperors, Greece was still further drained, and the Holy Land also paid its tribute in those splendid ornaments from the Temple at Jerusalem with which Vespasian adorned the Temple of Peace. The bas-reliefs of the Arch of Titus are in themselves sufficient proof of the excellence of the Greek artists resident at Rome during his reign, but we meet with no work which bears a national stamp until in the rilievi of the splendid column which commemorates the Dacian victories of Trajan, we find certain qualities of style and conception which are eminently Roman.[1] They are such as fitted the Romans to excel in portraiture and plain story-telling, and made them great historians in marble as well as in books. This very column is a chronicle of what was then fresh in men's minds; a marble ballad, replete with the raciness, energy and rudeness of structure, characteristic of that species of poetry; a record of events which demanded a positive treatment. Its series of 114 compositions is sculptured in a long spiral, which winds from the base to the summit of the pillar, divided midway by a Victory

Art of a national stamp. Trajan's column.

THE TIGER. (Trajan's Column.)

sestertii, equal, says the Abbé Barthélémy, to 9,000,000 francs (Déchazelle, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 174).

[1] Erected after the year 106. 'So tragen sie doch unfehlbar das nationale Gepräge des Romischen Geistes'—*Beschreibung Roms*, vol. iii. p. 290.

engaged in inscribing the names of heroes upon her shield. In this figure, and in the fine half-length of old Father Tiber below, are signs of a Greek or Greco-Roman hand, but elsewhere throughout the scenes of battle and siege, and the accompanying incidents of hewing trees, and building bridges and towns, we see what looks like pure Roman work. The emperor, whose square flat head and marked features are so well known to us, appears everywhere, presiding over his soldiers, many of whom look like the Romans whom we meet now-a-days in the Trastevere, and who are easily to be distinguished from their enemies by their dress and type of face, and in some cases by their more civilised mode of warfare, for no Roman would have fought like one of these barbarians, with the head of his last opponent firmly held by the hair between his teeth.

ROMAN SOLDIERS. (Trajan's Column.)

If we regard the pervading spirit, the manipulation, the manner of modelling, either in angular and coarsely marked planes, or very much rounded surfaces, we shall find the sculptures of Trajan's column essentially different from the Greek of any period; and with the exception of certain busts and portrait statues,[1] the most striking development of the short-

[1] Such works were divided into two classes: the Iconic, which was an absolute, and the Heroic, which was an ideal likeness. The Roman people conceded to such persons as had held the office of consul, ædile, censor, or prætor, a privilege called the 'jus imaginum,' by which, after they had delivered an oration devoted to the enumeration of their claims, they were entitled to decorate the atria of their houses with the images of their ancestors, made of wax run in moulds taken from life, and robed in the costume of their

lived Roman school, whose possible growth was checked by the fresh influx of Greek artists which Hadrian's love for Greek art induced. This passion had been developed in the new emperor by his travels in foreign lands, from which he returned to build the Villa Adriana at Tivoli, where he caused those buildings which had most impressed him both in Greece and Egypt to be reproduced upon a smaller scale, and filled them with statues brought from those countries, and with imitations in harmony with the architecture which they were intended to decorate. Hence arose a school of imitators, whose best energies were directed towards counterfeiting Greek and Egyptian statues; whe soon lost all originality; and whose works, though conspicuous for their technical skill and knowledge of drawing, appear smooth and lifeless, when compared with the divine originals of Greece. To feel this, we have but to compare the Braschi Antinous and that of the Villa Albani with such original Greek works as the marbles of the Parthenon, the Venus of Milo, and the Fighting Amazon at the Villa Albani; or even with such admirable copies as the Apollo and the Venus of the Capitol.

Hadrian.

A.D. 135–138.

School of sculpture under Hadrian.

The chisels of these Hadrianic sculptors were principally occupied upon portrait statues of the emperor, and his favourite Antinous, numbers of which exist to prove that art, forced by one man's will into a certain channel, must always, however correct, be cold and uninspired. We are told that Hadrian was himself both architect, sculptor,[1] and painter, and so vain of his skill that he suffered no criticism upon his works; as he proved, by first condemning to exile, and then to death, the great architect Apollodorus, for having dared to pass a severe comment upon the temple of Venus and Rome which he had designed.[2]

Dedicated B.C. 135.

day, or simple masks, facsimiles of which were worn at great ceremonies by persons appointed to represent the deceased. See Overbeck, *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik*, vol. ii. p. 293, and Clarac, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 33, 34.

[1] The poet Aurelius Vettore compared Hadrian to Praxiteles and Euphranor (Spart. *Had.* p. 8, Winckelmann, vol. ii. lib. xiii. ch. i. p. 298).

[2] During the reign of Trajan, Apollodorus had had the indiscretion to

After Hadrian came Antoninus Pius, an excellent prince, who did but little for the arts, and Marcus Aurelius, whose equestrian statue is full of vitality, ease, and dignity, and despite certain defects, a truly noble group. Some wilfully blind critics have chosen to mistake the tuft of hair between the horse's ears for the bird of Minerva, in order to prove its sculptor to have been a Greek; but judging from the heavy-limbed horse, and the unideal character of the whole group, we may consider it as genuine Roman work, or at least that of a Greek long settled at Rome.

Sculpture declined more and more rapidly after Commodus succeeded to the throne, marking one stage of its downward progress upon the column which he raised in honour of Marcus Aurelius, which is but a feeble copy of that of Trajan ; another upon the arch of Septimius Severus; and a final one upon that of Constantine.[1] Trajan patronised art because he esteemed it a noble thing, and worthy to occupy the mind of a great prince; Hadrian partly from a love for it, and partly from motives of personal vanity; Marcus Aurelius, who loved philosophy and literature, regarded it with indifference, and it is unnecessary to say that his unworthy son was utterly incapable of appreciating it,

Decline of the art.

A.D. 315.

rebuke Hadrian in a rude way for interfering in the discussion of an architectural plan between himself and the Emperor. Afterwards he imprudently criticised the construction of the Temple of Venus and Rome, designed by Hadrian. In this temple the two goddesses of colossal size were seated in separate sanctuaries back to back; 'If they stood up,' said Apollodorus, 'they could not get out of the temple.' 'Hadrian était envieux de toutes les manières. Dans la politique de Trajan; dans les lettres de tous les génies. Il aimait beaucoup les savants quand ils étaient médiocres, il était capable de les tuer quand ils étaient gens de talent. Entre l'architecte Apollodore et l'architecte Hadrien il y eut aussi une lutte d'art et de critique, mais à ce jeu Apollodore jouait sa tête, et la perdit.'—*Les Antonins*, par le Comte de Champagny, vol. ii. p. 6.

[1] We refer in the text to the bas-reliefs sculptured in Constantine's time, 'in quo aperte dignoscitur sæculi ejusdem infeliciter' (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.*, vol. i. p. 13), and not to those belonging to the arch of Trajan, which were incorporated with them in the arch of Constantine.

or its benefits to mankind.[1] We cannot wonder at this decay of all the arts, when we read in Seneca that they were intrusted to
A.D. 5-65. the hands of the vilest slaves,[2] and remember that the great fortunes by which they had been supported were swallowed up during the vicissitudes which marked the decline of the Roman Empire. The final blow was given by Constantine, who not only carried away an immense number of works of art from Rome to Constantinople, but compelled such numbers of artists and workmen, whom he needed for the adornment of his new seat of
Founded A.D. 329. empire, to follow him thither, that those who remained could not even copy the antique, and when called upon to erect new buildings, used old fragments, which they clumsily combined with their own inferior work.[3]

But while Pagan art was thus dying out with the false superstitions which had so long held undisputed sway over the minds
Christian sculpture. of men, another of new aims was springing up from the seed sown by the early Christians in the darkness and silence of the Catacombs; more precious for its significance, and for the service which it rendered in keeping alive and giving expression to faith, than for any artistic merit. During the first three centuries of our era, Christian sculpture was confined to the simplest symbolism, such as the engraving of palms, hearts, triangles, fishes, and monograms, upon the altars and tombs of the subterranean galleries, in which the faithful found refuge from persecution; but after Constantine, when senators and wealthy citizens were no longer ashamed to inscribe their names on the roll of Christ's disciples, and desired to secure a fitting resting-place for

[1] 'L'art renouvelé par Trajan, entra en décadence sous Commode; de même que l'art glorieux sous Auguste avait commencé à déchoir sous Tibère.'—Champagny, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 240.

[2] 'Vilissimorum municipiorum commenta sunt.'—*Ep.* 90. (Sacchi, *Ant. Rom. d'Italia*, p. 178).

[3] 'Non si trova quasi più nessuna menzione dell' arte dopo i tempi di Costantino.'—Winckelmann, *op. cit.* vol. ii. lib. xii. ch. iii. p. 329.

their bodies after death, its field was widened, by the use of sarcophagi.[1] Many examples of these are preserved in the Christian Museum at the Lateran Palace, in the crypt of St. Peter's, and in other Roman churches, sculptured with reliefs, generally of the rudest description, illustrating dogmas, mysteries, and scenes from Holy Writ, which had a plain instructive meaning to the unlettered disciple, and another sense to

THE ASCENSION OF ELIJAH.
(From a Sarcophagus at the Lateran Museum.)

[1] From *σαρκοφάγος*, 'flesh-devouring.' The use of sarcophagi for burial was revived under the Antonines, when the burning of bodies was forbidden by law. (Vide Agincourt, vol. iii. pp. 149 *et seq.*) Two of the oldest Christian sarcophagi known are the first and seventh placed on the left-hand side of the staircase in the Christian Museum at the Lateran. The supposition that they are anterior to the fourth century is based upon the somewhat better style in which they are sculptured. Upon the front of the first of these sarcophagi are represented the raising of Lazarus; Moses striking the rock; a subject of doubtful interpretation, in which three men are running away and two lying prostrate upon the ground; and the story of Jonah, in three parts. The other sarcophagus is divided into three parts by as many figures in relief of the Good Shepherd, and covered with a vine, upon whose branches stand many children picking grapes, which others are treading out below. Besides the two statues of the Pastor Bonus at the Lateran, the earliest and best of which we give in a woodcut (p. 27), there is a third of inferior style at the Kircherian Museum. In regard to the poverty of the early Christians, which generally precluded the possibility of so costly a mode of burial, we must remember that even in the first century there were some wealthy disciples, such as the Senator Pudens; while, although in consideration of the rigour of the laws and the vigilance of the magistrates during the persecutions, we might suppose that even if any among them could afford to purchase or order a sarcophagus they would not have dared to do so, we must not forget that by selecting a series of subjects which meant one thing to the learned and another to the uninitiated, a Christian might have done so without danger. The greater part of the Christian sarcophagi which we possess were found in the Catacombs, where they were placed after the establishment of Christianity, in order that their occupants might rest in death near the burial-places of the saints and martyrs.

the initiated. Such are those upon the great sarcophagus [1] at the foot of the staircase in the Lateran Museum, probably sculptured in the latter part of the fourth century, which set forth the doctrinal mysteries of Christianity; such also is that of Junius Bassus [2] in the crypt of St. Peter's, whose double row of reliefs portray Biblical scenes, beginning with the Creation, and followed by the Temptation, &c. Both are of great interest, because, belonging to the same period, they are yet of merit so unequal.

ADAM AND EVE. (From the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, crypt of St. Peter's.)

Object of Christian symbolism.

The object of the symbolism which pervaded the architecture, sculpture and painting of the church during the first six centuries of its existence was, in the words of Dionysius the Areopagite, 'Ascendere per formas ad veritatem.' Strict watch was kept over the subjects represented, which were carefully restricted to those which recalled the promise of a future world, and thus sustained the Christian under the sore trials and grievous persecutions which were his portion in this. Daniel in the lion's den, and the three young men who walked unharmed through the fiery furnace, taught the efficacy of faith amid many and great dangers; the peacock, the fish, the stag, and the phœnix spoke of immortality, baptism and the resurrection; while the flowers, vines, and crowns of myrtle used as ornaments, being all of a joyful peaceful character, tended to promote cheerfulness of spirit.[3] Of the same character were certain

[1] Supposed to be contemporary with the rebuilding of the Basilica, under Honorius, A.D. 375–423. An elaborate description of its reliefs is given by the Marchese A. Ricci, at p. 54, note 31, vol. i. of his *St. dell' Architettura in Italia*. See also *ibid.* p. 40.

[2] Præfect of Rome, A.D. 359. Vide *Besch. Roms*, vol. ii. p. 228, and Agincourt, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 119.

[3] Daniel, like the chaste Joseph, is a type of Christ in the Old Testament; and

heathen subjects which, being capable of a double interpretation, were used at a period when concealment of meaning was necessary.[1] Of these we may mention Orpheus, Deucalion, Jason, and the Four Seasons, which latter typified the constantly varying nature of human life.

The letter of St. Nilus to Olympiodorus,[2] which speaks of hares, goats, and every sort of running beast pursued by men and dogs, and of fishes, horses, and serpents; and that of St. Dionysius, which mentions oxen, lions, eagles, &c. &c., as figures through which men arrive at ascetic truths, also proves that the custom of sculpturing these animals in the friezes and upon the arches and door-posts of Christian churches was general before the sixth

Daniel in the lions' den especially foretells the staying of Christ in the grave. He is often represented upon the oldest Christian sarcophagi between the lions (vide Aringhi, 331, 333, 423, 567, 571). The fiery furnace, in the oldest Christian representations, is not only a symbol of earthly trials, but of this world, joy of deliverance from which is expressed by the three young men singing praises. The lamb symbolised Christ, the sacrificial lamb. The peacock symbolised immortality, because his flesh was said to be incorruptible. The fish was often placed on old Christian graves, to show that there a Christian was buried; also as the fish lives in water, so Christ was baptised in water. The stag panting for the waterbrooks as the soul thirsteth for God, is taken as a symbol of baptism. The phœnix as the symbol of the risen Redeemer. Orpheus, whose lyre tamed wild beasts, as the words of Christ (with whom he was identified) softened rebellious hearts (*Christliche Symbolik*, von Wolfgang Menzel).

[1] Mercury carrying the ram (κριοφόρος) is the original of the Pastor Bonus. It was treated by Onatus and Callicles (Paus. v. 27, 5) and by Calamis (Paus. ix. 22, 2). That of Onatus carried the ram under the arm, and that of Calamis on the shoulder, because the god is said to have delivered the city of Tanagra from a pestilence by carrying a ram on his shoulders round the walls (Ampère, *op. cit.* vol. iii. note i. p. 256). The relation between the ram and Mercury was revealed in the mysteries of Cybele (Paus. *loc. cit.*). Generally the Pastor Bonus carries a lamb on his shoulder, but sometimes also a ram. Children treading out grapes is also of Pagan origin, for they figure in the bas-reliefs in which Priapus also appears. The whale which swallowed Jonah was imitated from a fantastic animal with a dragon's head and a fish's tail and body, such as Myron represented, and which the ancients called Pristis (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 19, 8). Pristas for pristes, *id.* with pistrices, sea-monsters, whales (Ampère, vol. iii. p. 258).

[2] Sacchi, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 156.

century. Those especially styled mystic, as symbolic of the Evangelists, are most commonly to be met with, as well as the horse, the dove, the lamb, the fish and the goat. About the beginning of the sixth century, when the Church had lost her dread of being charged with idolatry, the fathers permitted artists to represent these three mysteries of the Passion: Christ before Pilate, the Crowning with Thorns, and the Procession to Calvary; and at its close included the other mysteries among allowed subjects.[1]

Christian sculptors were sometimes induced by love of gain to work for the heathen; but that such use of their time and talents was considered highly sinful, we learn from the reproof administered by Tertullian to certain persons who were not excused in his eyes by their alleged plea of poverty, and many of whom, moved by his earnest exhortations, abandoned their profession rather than incur the risk of further temptation.

Single statues.

Although very few single statues were modelled in Italy after Constantine's time, one or two may be cited, of which the oldest in bronze is that which stands in the Piazza of the town of Barletta in Apulia, supposed to represent either the Emperor Heraclius or the Lombard King Eraco;[2] and which, though traditionally believed to have been cast at Constantinople by Polyphobus and wrecked on the Adriatic coast when brought to Italy by the Venetians, has so little of the precision and conventionality characteristic of Byzantine art about it, and so many marks of early Italian, such as the broad face, protruding eyes, and small nose, that we rather believe it belongs to the latter school.

A.D. 610–641.

A.D. 744–749.

A.D. 1204.

[1] In the year 680, a Council, convened at Constantinople, decreed the substitution of reality for symbolism. This decree was much more regarded in the Eastern than in the Western Empire.

[2] G. Villani says, Eraco, who marched against Rome, was converted by Pope Zaccharias, and died a saint (*Ist. Fiorentine* lib. ii. ch. ii.). It was found in 1491. Engraved in H. W. Schultz's *Denkmaler der Kunst in Unter Italien*, vol. i. p. 141. See also Agincourt, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 104; Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, p. 552.

The oldest known statue in marble is that of St. Hippolytus, in the Christian Museum at the Lateran Palace, probably made in the sixth century, of which the lower portion only is old, and the upper a modern restoration devoid of character.

Two small statues of the Good Shepherd, in the same collection, one of which is really graceful and pleasing, are among the best examples of Christian sculpture.

PASTOR BONUS.
(Lateran Museum.)

Lastly, we may mention the bronze statue of St. Peter in St. Peter's at Rome, which is supposed to have been cast by order of Pope Leo I. about the middle of the fifth century,[2] in gratitude for the deliverance of the city from Attila and his barbarian hordes by the miraculous interposition of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Theodoric a protector of art. A.D. 475–526.

Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who had been brought up from his eighth year at Constantinople, in the palace of the Emperor Leo, to whom he was sent as a hostage, although completely illiterate,[3] had a great respect for the remains of antiquity, and did much towards saving the buildings and statues in Italy from further destruction in the latter half

[1] St. Hippolytus was Bishop of Porto. The statue was found in 1551 upon the Ager Veranus, where, according to Prudentius, the saint was buried (*Besch. Roms*, vol. ii. p. 329). The date of this work is approximately fixed by the form of the letters in the Paschal Calendar, which the saint invented, and which is engraved on the side of the chair whereon he sits.

[2] Torrigio (*Sac. Grot. Vat.* pp. 126, 127) says it was cast about A.D. 453. From its superiority to works of the time, it has been supposed that this statue is an antique, with head and hands added in late Christian times; but as every part of it corresponds in style, the old accounts which state that it is a work of the fifth century are most probably correct (*Besch. Roms*, vol. ii. p. 177).

[3] 'Theodoric resta toujours complètement illéttré, et plus tard, quand il fut parvenu à la plus haute fortune, il ne put jamais, quelque désir qu'il en eût, apprendre à écrire son nom.'—A. Thierry, *Récit de l'Hist. Rom. au V. Siècle*, pp. 192 *et seq.*

of this century, by the appointment of magistrates charged with their preservation, and at Rome, of special officers, 'comes nitentium rerum,' who watched over their safety by night, and severely punished all persons convicted of inflicting any injury upon them.[1]

Goths and Lombards had no art of their own.

As neither history, marbles, nor medals have preserved to us the name of a single Gothic or Lombard artist, and as the laws, decrees and inscriptions of the Lombards show that they employed Italian workmen, who built in the debased Roman style, we may safely conclude that they had no art of their own.[2] The best of these Italian workmen were the Magistri Comacini, so styled from their native district, which lay about the Lake of Como.[3] These men, who after their subjugation became Lombard citizens, were especially exempted from servile tribute, and were allowed to form themselves into a society, whose members went about Italy and into foreign countries, to transmit secret methods of building, and who, in recognition of their free jurisdiction, were styled Free Masons. They created what we call the Lombard style of architecture, by combining Roman and Byzantine elements, with an excessive use of monsters, chimæras and fantastic designs.[4]

Sculpture under the Lombards.

An interesting example of the style of sculpture in vogue during the rule of the Lombard kings, is the bas-relief, representing the Baptism of our Lord, which stands over the chief portal of the Basilica of Monza,[5] in which the Holy Spirit is represented in the likeness of a dove holding a vase in its mouth, from which water

[1] Cantu, *St. degli Italiani*, vol. ii. p. 25. Not a single Roman artist is recorded by name between the fifth and the ninth centuries. The Magister Christianus, who is mentioned in an inscription at Santa Prassede as sculptor of the bust of Cardinal Petrus, probably belonged to the tenth century, as this prelate assisted at the Lateran Council, held by Pope Leo VIII., A.D. 964.

[2] Leg. Longobard. 144 and 145; Muratori, vol i. p. 2; Cordero, *Dell' Arch. Long.*, p. 313.

[3] Muratori, *Ant. Med. Ævi*, vol. i. part ii. p. 64. Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 174.

[4] Their first constructions were clumsy imitations of classical Roman work. Ricci, *op. cit.*, and *Arch. Cosmatesca* del Prof. C. Boito.

[5] Founded by Queen Theodolinda. 'Barbaro quidem sæculo insculpta, ut informes figuræ satis indicant.'—Frisi, *Mem. St. di Monza.*

descends upon the head of our Lord, whose garments are held by an angel, while near Him stand the Virgin, St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Queen Theodolinda appears above in the act of offering a gemmed crown to St. John the Baptist, with her daughter Gundeberga, her husband Agilulph, and her son Adaloaldo beside her; the latter holding a dove in his hand emblematic of his extreme youth. The crowns, crosses, vases, &c., which she gave to the Basilica, are introduced.[1] A.D. 591–615.

Another example of the style of sculpture which prevailed throughout Italy before the ninth century, is furnished us in the rude sculptures upon the exterior of the Baptistry at Cividale in Friuli,[2] of the evangelical symbols, a cross with two palms, and candelabra surrounded by circles, executed in a barbarous sort of relief, obtained by lowering the surface of the stone around the clumsy forms (which rather suggest than imitate objects) whose details are marked by furrows unskilfully cut in the stone.

The privileges enjoyed by the Comacine artists under the Lombards were increased under Charlemagne; and gradually artists of many nations, Roman, French, German, and English, were added to their society, which was further enlarged by the affiliation of numbers of Greeks,[3] who were driven from their own country during the Iconoclastic war, which was waged by Leo the Isaurian and his son Constantine Copronymus, exercised an important influence upon art in Italy during the eighth century. Comacine artists.

Brought up among Jews and Mahommedans, who instilled into

[1] The only names of artists preserved to us from Lombard times, are those of Aurisperto, a painter patronised by King Astolfo (A.D. 749), and Orso, whose scholars Giovino and Gioventius sculptured two columns for the Tabernacle of St. George in Val Pulicella.

[2] Erected by St. Calixtus, patriarch of Aquileja, in the reign of the Lombard king Luitprand (712–744). The other examples are the tomb of Pemmone, Duke of Friuli, in S. Martino at Cividale of the eighth century, and sculptures in S. Ambrozio at Milan, S. Tommaso in Limine near Bergamo, the well in the Lateran cloisters at Rome, &c. &c. (Selvatico, *op. cit.* pp. 67, 68).

[3] Another emigration took place in the twelfth century, and a third after the sack of Constantinople in the fifteenth.

Iconoclastic war.

his mind their own hatred of image-worship, and moved by the complaints of many of his Greek subjects, who were continually outraged by the appellation of idolaters,[1] given them by their fellow-subjects of a different faith, Leo first called a council to discuss the question, and then issued an edict for the destruction of all images. The agents first appointed to execute this decree fell victims to the fury of the adverse faction, which even threatened the emperor's life; but imperial will, backed by military force, prevailed: the religious communities which had initiated the rebellion were suppressed, and a wholesale destruction of images was carried out in the Eastern Empire.[2]

In the Western Empire matters took a different turn, as Pope Gregory the Second, supported by Luitprand, King of the Lombards, utterly refused to obey the decree of the schismatic council of Constantinople, and accorded his protection to the Greeks who fled to Italy. The emperor's statues were overthrown, the Italians refused to pay him tribute, and a final blow was given to Greek dominion in the West, when the African Saracens made themselves masters of Sardinia.

Influence of Greek emigration upon Italy.

The use of the chisel, long almost abandoned on account of the abundance of antique fragments which were ready at hand as building materials, but of which the supply was at this time becoming rapidly exhausted, was revived by the opportune arrival

[1] The worship rendered by the Christians to certain images of Christ and the Virgin which were said to have been miraculously made (ἀχειροποιηταί) laid them open to this charge of idolatry by the Turks. The capture of Edessa, in which one of these images was preserved, shook the faith of the Christians in their efficacy. At this crisis Leo was raised to the throne by a race of mountaineers, who had preserved their independence in Asia Minor. Isauria was a part of Cilicia (Sismondi, *Hist. des Rep. It.* vol. i. pp. 120 et seq.).

[2] The extinction of the iconoclasts after the death of Theophilus, A.D. 842, did not put an end to their influence upon sculpture in the East, as although his widow, Theodora, restored the worship of the Virgin and allowed pictures in the churches, sculptural representations were still prohibited, and have never since been allowed in the Greek Church, excepting in the flattest possible relief. 'The flatter the surface, the more orthodox.'—*Legends of the Madonna*, Int. p. 24.

of foreign workmen, who, being vastly better educated than their Italian brethren, stimulated the latter to unwonted exertion. Each, however, retained his natural style of decoration; for while the Italians made use of subjects taken from animated nature, as well as of labyrinths, sirens, and other capricious ornaments, which had been introduced by the Comacine artists during the period of Lombard rule; the Greeks confined themselves to the representation of rich stuffs (which had been introduced into Byzantium from Asia), of leaves, flowers, fruits and complicated lines of ingenious patterns borrowed from the Arabs.

MARBLE DISC. (Campo Santo.)

Art in the lowest state of decadence during the ninth and tenth centuries.

But we must not exaggerate the combined influence of native and foreign artists upon art of any kind in Italy,[1] which was unquestionably in a lethargic state during the two centuries preceding that dreaded year 1000, in which all classes of people confidently expected the end of the world, doubting only whether the thousand years at the end of which Christ was traditionally believed to have prophesied the event, were to be counted from His birth or His death. Men's minds were far too confused and anxious to think of aught else: crowds besieged the convents, filled the sanctuaries, or followed in procession the most venerated relics. Some sought to propitiate Divine wrath, by giving their no

[1] The influence of the Carlovingians upon all the arts in Europe, and especially upon architecture, was great; but sculpture was sunk too low to be revived, especially in Italy, where ignorance about representing the human form, or rendering any natural object in stone, was almost total. The impulse given by Charlemagne ceased at the end of the ninth century with the last of his descendants (Tiraboschi, *op. cit.* vol. iii. lib. iii. p. 186; Labarte, pp. 4, 5; Rio, *Art Chrétien*, vol. i. p. 2).

longer valued wealth to the Church; some reformed their lives; while others gave themselves up to the enjoyment of worldly pleasures, until the dreaded moment came and passed, leaving the globe still turning upon its axis, and men free to pursue their long-abandoned occupations, to which they turned with a new zest; and, influenced by feelings of gratitude for their deliverance from the dreaded catastrophe, began to construct cathedrals, of whose façades and portals sculpture formed an integral part.

Revival of sculpture through architecture.

Unity of design caused by the joint exercise of the three arts by one person.

The exercise of architecture, sculpture and painting by one person during the middle ages, gave to these buildings an unparalleled unity of conception; and so faithfully was the primitive idea carried out by succeeding architects, when through want of funds, or some unforeseen obstacle, their construction had been temporarily interrupted, that the most practised eye, if unaided by documents, will often seek in vain the line of demarcation between the old and the new portions.[1]

Proofs of growing esteem for art.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries we first find sculptors careful about signing their works, which proves that their profession was then held in esteem; as do the absurdly exaggerated praises heaped upon them by contemporary writers, and the inscriptions upon the works themselves,[2] which also show how utterly all knowledge of what was good must have perished, when the rudest sculptor was looked upon as a prodigy. Nothing, for instance, could well be more shapeless and barbarous than the bas-reliefs made for the Porta Romana at Milan,[3] in commemoration

Sculptors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[1] Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 559.

[2] The Greeks generally signed their works, the Romans less frequently; in the Greco-Roman period sculptors sometimes did it symbolically, as Sauros and Batrachos by a lizard and a frog, upon the Portico of Octavia (Pliny, lib. xxxvi.). After the year 1000, the epigraphs of the marble workers were recorded like those of the painters (*Not. Epig. Artifici Marmorarii, dal X al XV Secolo*; C. Promis, 1836).

[3] The triumphal arch of the Porta Romana, here referred to, was removed about the end of the last century, when the line of the Corso was straightened, at which time the reliefs were then let into the outer wall of a house, near the Naviglio; that of the Emperor Barbarossa is in the wall of a house near the

of the Lombard league, by a certain Anselmus, who nevertheless is styled by the accompanying inscription 'Dædalus alter;' or than those illustrating subjects from the Book of Genesis, sculptured with a frieze of leaves, grotesques, birds, &c. &c., about the portal of the cathedral at Modena by Wiligelmus, of whom the inscription says—

> Inter scultores quanto sis dignus honore
> Claret scultura nunc Wiligelma tua.

This artist is claimed as a Modenese by some authorities, and by others identified with the monk Wilhelm von St. Egidius[1] von Nuremberg (called Guglielmo Tedesco by the Italians), who visited Italy about 1155, and long dwelt at Pisa, where, under the name of Wilhelm von Innspruck, he is said to have assisted Bonnano in building the Leaning Tower. A better sculptor than either of these was Anselmo da Campione,[2] who sculptured the five bas-reliefs in a chapel to the right of the high altar of the cathedral at Modena; among which, that representing the Last Supper shows a little more variety in the action of its stiff Byzantine figures, and a better disposition of drapery, than was common at the period.

A further advance is traceable in the works of Benedetto Antelami,[3] the son of Antelamus, a notary at Parma, who was born about the middle of the twelfth century. His masterpiece

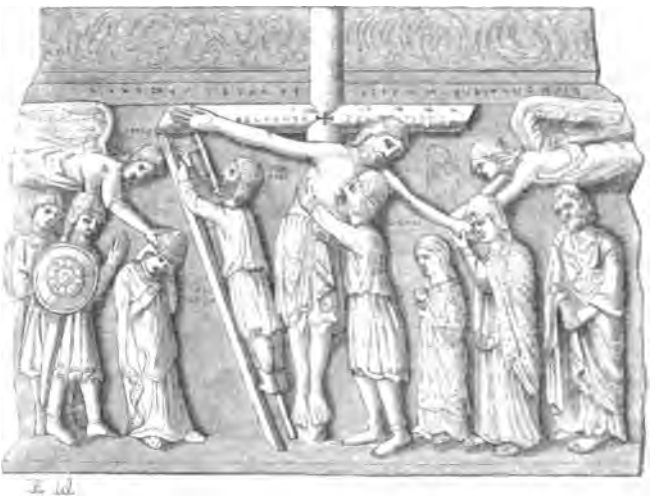
bridge, overlooking the Naviglio, and that of the Empress in the Palazzo Archinti. Vide Giulini, *Mem. della Città e Campagna di Milano*, vol. iii. pp. 711, 716.

[1] Tiraboschi calls him an Italian. Kreuser, in *Die Kristliche Kirchenbau*, vol. i. p. 468, says he was from Nuremberg.

[2] Flourished last part of the twelfth century. Campione, a feud of the monastery of St. Ambrogio, lies on the eastern slope of the mountain nearly opposite Lugano. Its inhabitants were especially noted before the revival as painters and sculptors (Calvi, p. 39). Individuals belonging to five generations of this family worked in the cathedral at Modena.

[3] See two articles upon Antelami in the *Arti del Disegno*, A.D. 1856, Nos. 33 and 34, by M. Lopez, who finds mention of an Antelamus notary, the supposed father of Benedetto in a Doc. dated Nov. 6, 1182. Vide Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 620, note 112.

is a Descent from the Cross, sculptured for the pulpit of the Duomo at Parma, and now let into the wall of the Capella Baiardi in that church. In this alto-relief, the body of our Lord, which Nicodemus mounts upon a ladder to detach from



DESCENT FROM THE CROSS. (By Benedetto Antelami.)

the cross, is sustained by Joseph of Arimathæa, while an angel above the Virgin (who forms one of a procession of mourners) aids her in holding up His left arm. In a similar position, upon the other side of the composition, appears the archangel Raphael, above a soldier, who threatens with his hand a reluctant priest, whom the Divine messenger is pushing forward to the foot of the cross, and who, we imagine, from the word 'Synagoga,' inscribed above his head, typifies the stiff-necked Jews. This idea of the invisible and the visible agent acting together, is original and striking, and proves Antelami to have been an artist of thought and feeling. It would be easy to criticise the composition (if such it may be called), and to point out the want of proportion, the stiffness and awkwardness of the figures; but if we bear in mind the period when it was sculptured, we shall recognise the artist's superior capacity for expression above his contemporaries, and shall feel inclined to pardon these defects.

The relief in a lunette over one of the doors of the Baptistry at Parma,[1] still more clearly shows his mystical tendencies. It represents a youth sitting in the branches of a tree, so absorbed in eating a honeycomb, that, like man who forgets the future in present enjoyment, he does not see a furious dragon watching him from below.[2] The other sculptures about the Baptistry can hardly be by Antelami, of whose life and works we know nothing more. The façade of the Duomo at Borgo San Donino, near Piacenza, furnishes us with other examples of the state of the art at this time.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries we meet with the names of Roman, Sabine, and Umbrian sculptors, as well as of some from the Abruzzi, inscribed upon architraves, pulpits, altars, &c. &c.; such as those of Giovanni and Guittone di Guido upon the architrave of the ciborium in the church of St. Maria di Castello at Corneto; of Nicolo di Rainuccio Romano, and A.D. 1060. Giovanni di Ranieri from Perugia, in the same church, and upon the tabernacle of the church of S. Pietro, at Toscanella, over A.D. 1093. the arch of the portal of Santa Maria, and upon the capital of the column which divides its upper window. Other sculptors of the time are Pietro Oderigius, or Oderigi, from Rome, who made the tomb of Count Ruggerio at Milato in South Calabria, of which A.D. 1101. the sarcophagus now stands in the piazza of that town; Paulus, with his four sons, Angelo, Sassone, Giovanni, and Paolo, who made the ciborium of S. Lorenzo near Rome, and Nicolo di A.D. 1148. Angelo (grandson of Paulus), who made the paschal candlestick of marble at S. Paolo fuori le mura.[3]

Several interesting inscriptions, containing the name of artists of this period, exist in the church of S. Pietro, near the old Marsian city of Alba, among which are those of Giovanni (probably

[1] Built by Antelami in 1196.

[2] Engraved in *Revue Archéologique*, 1853, art. by MM. Lopez and Didron.

[3] It is about eighteen feet in height, and is divided into seven zones, upon which are rudely sculptured scenes from the New Testament.

identical with the Giovanni di Guido mentioned as having made the ciborium at Santa Maria di Corneto, and the pulpit in Santa
A.D. 1209. Maria di Toscanella); and Andrea, magister Romanus, sculptor of the pulpit in this church (which is adorned with gilded and many-coloured mosaics in the cosmatesque style),[1] and of the marble screen inlaid with mosaic, in making which he was assisted by Gualterius, Moronto, and Petrus, the latter of whom is identical with the Petrus Amabilis, who made a pulpit at S. Vittorino near Aquila. The same Petrus and Andreas worked at Rieti, with a Magister Enricus, about the middle of the thirteenth century. In the south of Italy we also find that many sculptors flourished about this time, among whom were Alphonso di Tremoli, who made a tabernacle for the Duomo of his native town (about the middle of the eleventh century) which rests upon four columns, into the leaf-work about whose capitals
A.D. 1229. angels are introduced; Nicolaus, 'sacerdos et magister,' sculptor of a bas-relief representing the Adoration of the Magi, in which the figures are short and stout and the faces barbaric; and Simeone di Ragusa, Nicodemus, Acceptus Archidiaconus, Acutus, and Romoaldus.

Nor is the North of Italy (in which art was kept alive by the Comacines during the darkest period of the middle ages) less rich in names and works of pre-revival artists. Thus, at Venice we find the sculptured columns which support the ciborium or baldacchino over the high altar of St. Mark's, which we can
A.D. 1105. compare on the spot with the Pala d'oro made at Constantinople to cover the front of the altar, in order to see the difference between Italian and Byzantine work. The Biblical subjects upon

[1] The date of their works at Alba might be fixed with some accuracy, could we find out at what time their employer, mentioned in the inscription with them as that 'nobilis et prudens Oderisius abbas,' lived; but no such abbot is mentioned by Benedictine writers. Two abbots of this name, belonging to the Sangro-Marsian Counts, presided over the monastery of Monte Cassino, one from 1087 to 1105, the other from 1123 to 1126; but as S. Pietro d'Alba never belonged to that monastery, they are not probably identical with the Oderisius of the inscription (MS. Letter from the Abbate Luigi Tosti di Monte Cassino).

these columns are confused in outline, ill regulated in composition, and filled with short, rounded, and clumsy figures, while those of the Pala d'oro are clear and sharp in outline, and the figures, which are long and stiff, are ranged in a thoroughly systematic and conventional manner. These peculiarities show us that the Italian artist, though groping in darkness, was inspired by a love for freedom, which sooner or later could not fail to lead him to the light, while the Byzantine, who was inimical to all change, could not make progress.[1] A still more remarkable example of early sculpture is offered to us by the reliefs upon the façade of San Zeno at Verona, of which those from the Old Testament were made by Niccolo and Guglielmo, the latter of whom is thus mentioned in the adjoining inscription, 'Pray God that Guglielmo, who sculptured this work, may be eternally saved.'[2]

From the similarity of the bas-relief at San Zeno, which represents the creation of Adam and Eve, to that of Wiligelmus at Modena, Niccolo has been called his scholar; but this hypothesis is fanciful in an age in which the representation of all subjects was to a great extent regulated by fixed types. Gioventius of Modena, Orso, Gioviano, Pacifico of Verona, Martino, Adamino, Calzaro, and Briolotto, who made the round window in the façade of San Zeno representing the wheel of Fortune, and the baptismal font inside the church, all worked at Verona during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[3]

The Biblical reliefs in bronze upon the doors of San Zeno, which are made of beaten plates of metal nailed upon wood (after the oldest Greek process called Σφυρήλατον), are, we may suppose from their excessive rudeness of style, among the earliest specimens of Italian metal-work. They resemble Byzantine doors of the eleventh century in construction,[4] but differ from them in

[1] Cicognara strangely enough calls the column-sculptures Byzantine; but Selvatico, Zanotti, and Zanotto believe them to be Italian.

[2] Maffei, *Verona Illustra*, lib. iii. capo sesto, p. 189.

[3] Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 452, and p. 490, note 75. Gailhabaud, *L'Arch. du V au XVII Siècle, et les Arts qui en dépendent.*

[4] Such as the doors of San Paolo f. m. at Rome, made by Staurentius of

this important particular, that while these are in relief, those are incised, and the lines filled with a composition of silver or other metal, as in niello-work. Italy could boast some eminent bronze-casters in the twelfth century, such as Barisanus of Trani, who made the doors of the Duomos at Trani and Ravello,[1]
A.D. 1179. and the smaller door of the Duomo at Monreale near Palermo, which deservedly rank as the most perfect pre-Gothic works in Southern Italy. At Troya there are others, by an unknown workman, somewhat earlier in date. Simone di Ragusa, whose style was strongly Byzantine, also flourished in this century, during the latter half of which the bronze doors at Amalfi, Monte
A.D. 1062. Cassino, Monte St. Angelo, Abani, and Salerno, were made;
A.D. 1087.
A.D. 1097.
A.D. 1196. as well as those of the Oratory of St. John (contiguous to the Lateran Basilica) at Rome, which, with the exception of a few rude figures in relief, are quite plain in surface.[2] Another very eminent worker in bronze was Bonnano di Pisa, who, with the assistance of Jacopo of Innspruck, built that world-renowned
A.D. 1180. monument of architectural skill, the Leaning Tower at Pisa, and cast the bronze gates of the Duomo at Pisa, the largest of which was destroyed by fire, but the smaller, called the Porta di San Ranieri, whose reliefs are so thoroughly Byzantine in style that they seem to have been copied out of some Greek missal, still exists on the side of the building towards the Leaning Tower. The bronze gates which Bonnano cast for the cathedral of Monreale near Palermo, which surpass them in workmanship, are surrounded by a delicately sculptured frieze of leaves and arabesques. Bonnano was one of the last of the Italian-Byzantine artists, and the only sculptor out of the seven who attained reputation in Tuscany during the twelfth century, who worked 'alla Greca.'

Constantinople between 1061–1072; destroyed in 1824. See Plate 18, Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.*

[1] Subjects in relief at Ravello and Trani.

[2] By Hubert and Peter from Piacenza. See Platner, *Besch. Roms*, vol. iii. p. 543; Kügler, *Kunstgeschichte*, vol. ii. p. 273, and Didron, *Ann. Arch.* p. 173, A.D. 1855.

The best of these seven Italian sculptors was Gruamonte di Pisa,[1] architect and sculptor, who, with his son Adeodatus, built many important edifices at Pistoja, and sculptured an Adoration of the Magi upon the architrave of the chief door of St. Andrea, a Last Supper on that of S. Giovanni fuori civitas, and a pulpit in the church of the Madonna dei Groppoli outside the walls. A bas-relief of Christ and the twelve apostles, with two clumsy angels, on the architrave of San Bartolomeo di Pistoja, by Rudolfinus, a font at San Casciano near Pisa, and a miracle of St. Nicholas over the side door of San Salvatore at Lucca, by Biduinus, are contemporary works in the same rude but national style; as is also the font at San Frediano di Lucca, by Magister Robertus, upon which the Israelites are quaintly represented as passing through the Red Sea clad in chain armour, with odd-looking fishes swimming under their feet.

Tuscan sculptors in the twelfth century.

A.D. 1166.

ANGEL. (By Rudolfinus. At S. Giovanni di Pistoja.)

The last of this group of sculptors is Enricus, whose work about the doorway of St. Andrea at Pistoja is like that of Gruamonte, but inferior to it.

Towards the end of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth century, a taste for extravagant or capricious ornament in architectural sculpture showed itself in the façade of the Pieve or parochial church of Arezzo, which was built by Marchionne, a native artist. It has three rows of columns, one above the other, bound together in groups of two, three, and four, varying in size, shape and length, twisted like vines, or fashioned into human forms, based upon extravagantly conceived animals, and covered

Taste for extravagant ornament.

A.D. 1216.

[1] Ciampi, *De' belli Arredi*, p. 27, calls him a Pisan, as does Morrona. *Pisa Illustrata*, etc.; other writers say he was a native of Ravenna.

A.D. 1166

with capitals fantastically ornamented.[1] Marchionne also built the famous Tor de Conti at Rome, for Pope Innocent VII., which Petrarch speaks of as unique in the world.[2] As all these mediæval artists, who are called Taglia Pietre in contemporary documents and inscriptions, regarded sculpture as the humble handmaid of architecture, and made statuettes to crown the pinnacles or fill the niches of buildings, but never as separate entities, they may rather be classed as architectural stone-cutters than as sculptors.

Proper classification of these sculptors.

The impulse given by architecture to sculpture had indeed caused some slight improvement in the latter art at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century; but for its further progress a man of genius was needed, who could take the lead and introduce new principles of study. Such a man was Niccola Pisano, who commenced that great revival in architecture and sculpture, which gradually embraced all other arts, and like a stone thrown into water, which sets the whole surface into agitation through its ever-widening circles, communicated its impulse from point to point until it affected the civilised world. Judged from the point of view of his own time (the only way in which any man can be fairly judged), he was one of the greatest artists the world has ever seen: 'non parceque ses travaux approchent le plus de la perfection, mais parceque avec les moindres moyens il a obtenu les plus grands résultats; parceque son influence durable a traversé les siècles; et parceque, dans une certaine mesure, on peut lui faire honneur des travaux de ses élèves et de ses successeurs.'[3]

[1] That portion of the façade of the Duomo at Lucca which Guidetto built in 1204, the façade of San Michele in the same town, and that of the Duomo at Pistoja, are constructed in the same extravagant style.

[2] His letter was written after its partial overthrow by an earthquake, and the epithet 'unique' probably applied to its height (*Rer. Fam.* ep. ii. 12).

[3] L'Abbé Texier, *Dict. de l'Orfèvrerie Chrétien*, p. 928.

BOOK I.

THE ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTORS.

CHAPTER I.

NICCOLA PISANO.

IT is somewhat difficult to realise, while treading the dull and silent streets of Pisa, or traversing the broad plain which separates the city from the sea, that in the eleventh century, when those lonely buildings, which now form her chief attraction, were erected, Pisa was chief among the Ghibelline cities of Italy, a seaport, and one of the principal channels through which Oriental produce flowed into Europe; that she was mistress of several islands in the Mediterranean, whose waves often bore her gallant sons to battle with their rivals the Genoese; and that her now depopulated streets were daily filled with a motley crowd, quaintly described by an old chronicler as 'Pagans, Turks, Libyans, Parthians, and other monsters of the sea.' [1]

Contrast between Pisa as it is and as it was.

If we would find something to guide our imagination to a still earlier period, we must inspect the antique sarcophagi which line the spacious corridors of her Campo Santo; some of which have, doubtless, been in her possession since the days when she flourished as an important colony of imperial Rome, while others were brought from the East, from Sicily, and various parts of Italy

[1] 'Qui pergit Pisas videt illic monstra marina.
Hæc urbs Paganis, Turchis, Libycis, quoque Parthis
Sordida; Chaldæi sua lustrant mœnia tetri.'
(Denizone, *Vita Comm. Mathildis, apud Muratori*, lib. i. ch. xx.)

The monk Denizone, who wrote these lines, launched a torrent of abuse upon Pisa, because she would not allow his liege lady, the Countess Matilda, to be buried at Canossa (L. Tosti, *Life of the Countess Matilda*, lib. iii. p. 167).

during the middle ages.[1] When these sarcophagi decorated the exterior of the Duomo during the eleventh, twelfth, and greater part of the thirteenth century, they served as tombs for distinguished Pisans, and for illustrious foreigners deceased at Pisa,[2] and thus linked together her Roman and mediæval existence; and when they attracted the notice of Niccola Pisano, who through study of the bas-reliefs upon them was awakened to a full comprehension of the fallen state of sculpture in his day, and enabled to raise it again to a pitch of excellence unattained since the decline of the Roman Empire, they became the instruments of the regeneration of sculpture in Italy.

Influence of the times upon art.

The development of art in the thirteenth century was so strikingly influenced by the great struggle unceasingly carried on between the Imperial and Papal powers, that we may well pause, before entering upon the life of Niccola Pisano, to say a few words about it and its leaders, and to trace the connection between them and the art of their time. There were great men on both sides; great tyrants, such as Frederic II. and Ezzelino of Padua; great popes, such as Innocent IV. and Urban IV.; great saints, such as SS. Francis and Dominic; who, though they represented antagonistic principles, equally aided the development of art; for while the tyrants needed fortresses, and palaces scarcely less calculated for purposes of defence, the popes needed convents in which the armies of monks whom they enlisted to fight against

[1] Pisa, the ancient Pisæ, originally a Pelasgic town, was made a Latin colony 180 B.C., and again colonised in the time of Augustus. As in the first century of the Christian era she was praised by Strabo, 'propter saxorum opera,' it is not impossible that some of these sarcophagi may have been sculptured within her walls.

[2] Such as the Countess Beatrice, mother of the Countess Matilda, in 1187; Pope Gregory VIII., who died at Pisa in the same year; the great Burgundian in 1193; and some Pisan archbishops (Tempesti, *Anteperistasi Pisane*, p. 92; vide Appendix to this chapter, letter A). In 1293, when marble steps were added to the duomo, all these sarcophagi, excepting that of the Countess Beatrice, which was first placed inside the church, were removed to the Campo Santo (*ibid.*).

heresy could be lodged, and churches in which the faithful could be assembled for prayer. Thus, while the first developed civil architecture, the latter acted upon ecclesiastical, and consequently upon sculpture, which, as we have said, formed an integral part of it. The war between the Hohenstaufens and the popes was renewed, at the outset of Niccola Pisano's career, between Pope Honorius III., and Frederic II., who, being king of Sicily through his mother, of Jerusalem through his wife, and of the Romans by election, and having been crowned emperor by the pope, of whom he professed himself the vassal, was secretly preparing the way for the subjugation of Italy, which he looked upon as his rightful heritage.[1] Though he had bound himself to resign Sicily to his son Henry, immediately after his coronation, in order that it should not be united to the Empire, and pledged himself to give up to the Church the heritage of the Countess Matilda, and to embark for the Holy Land within a year, he constantly eluded the fulfilment of these promises, and openly or covertly thwarted the plans of the Holy See.

Frederic II.

Nov. 22, 1220.

The popes desired the independence of Italy, regarding it as necessary to their own freedom, while the emperor wished to put down both popes and republics, in order to bring about its unification under himself. In this plan, as well as in his resistance to papal authority, and in his attacks upon the vices, riches and power of the clergy—which put him in the position afterwards occupied by the leaders of the Reformation, though he, unlike them, was actuated by purely ambitious motives—Frederic was far in advance of his time.[2]

But the hour was not yet come for the unification of Italy, or for religious reform; and though Frederic pressed Rome hard, the

[1] 'Italy is my heritage, and all the world knows it' (Declaration of War, A.D. 1236.—Kington, *Life of Frederic II.*).

[2] M. Cherrier, *Hist. de la Lutte des Papes*, vol. ii. p. 397. Kington (*op. cit.*) says, Frederic's circular addressed to such prelates as mourned over the grasping and combative spirit of their head (Gregory IX., who had just excommunicated him in 1237), reads like a forerunner of the Reformation.

elasticity of her institutions (which yield to pressure only to resume their original shape when that pressure is removed) saved Rome from the loss of her temporal power. That peace between the two powers was impossible, is plainly shown by Pope Innocent's definition of their respective positions, which says, 'Two lights, the sun and the moon, illumine the globe; two powers, the papal and the royal, govern it; but as the moon receives her light from the more brilliant star, so kings reign by the chief of the church, who comes from God;' and again (in defining imperial rights), that 'the two swords left by Christ upon earth for the defence of Christianity, are confided to St. Peter, one for secular, and the other for ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the first is *lent* by the pope to the emperor; the other is retained by him for the government of spiritual matters.' [1]

Frederic, who was a sceptic, if not an atheist, who made war with 20,000 Saracens at his back, deaf alike to religious or national influences, laughed at these extravagant claims, and used cunning and deceit, when force failed, in thwarting the designs of his implacable enemies, who, it must be allowed, were as little scrupulous as himself as to their modes of action. In studying his life, we shall find that, though he was matched in evil by many of his time, but one (St. Louis of France) surpassed him in good; and while we blame him for his cruelty [2] and duplicity, shall not be able to withhold our admiration from the man who founded universities, where poor scholars were

[1] M. Cherrier, *Grégoire VII.*, vol. i. lib. vii. p. 65, No. 25 Ep. Cantu, *Storia degli Italiani*, vol. ii. p. 489, Regesta and Specchio di Svevia.

[2] Such as burning out the eyes of his tried friend and councillor, Petrus de Vineis, on a mere suspicion of treachery. See Appendix to this chapter, letter B, for opinions as to the truth or falsehood of this accusation.

'I' son colui, che tenni ambo le chiavi
Del cuor di Federigo'

(*Inferno*, canto xiii.). Some writers say that, to avoid this horrible fate, De Vineis dashed his brains out against a wall (*Vita di P. de Vineis*, prefixed to Epistolæ, Basle, 1566; Collenuccio, *St. di Napoli*, pp. 102, 110).

educated free of expense; who enacted wise laws, favoured and himself cultivated letters; was a poet, a practical architect, a musician; understood law and philosophy; and could converse in Greek, Latin, Arabic, Italian, German or French, with the men of letters and artists, in whose society he spent the rare intervals of leisure which he snatched from his turbulent life. That the accusations of his enemies were, in part at least, false, and as much exaggerated as the praises of his partisans, is certain; and the friendship of the great and good St. Louis of France, who warmly pleaded his cause before Pope Innocent IV. at Lyons, argues much in his favour.[1]

In warring against Frederic, whose courage, cunning, and ambition gave them ceaseless cause for alarm, and in strengthening and extending the influence of the Church, much shaken by the many heresies which had sprung up in Italy and France, the popes received invaluable assistance from the Minorites and the Preaching Friars, whose orders had been established by Pope Innocent III. in the early part of the century, in consequence of a vision, in which he saw the tottering walls of the Lateran basilica supported by an Italian and a Spaniard, in whom he afterwards recognised their respective founders, SS. Francis and Dominic. Nothing could be more opposite than the means which these two celebrated men employed in the work of conversion; for while St. Francis used persuasion and tenderness to melt the hard-hearted, St. Dominic forced and crushed them into submission. St. Francis,

Minorites and Preaching Friars.

> La cui mirabil vita
> Meglio in gloria del ciel si canterebbe,[2]

was inspired by love for all created things, in the most insignificant of which he recognised a common origin with

[1] G. Villani gives the Guelphic opinion of Frederic, lib. vi. ch. i. pp. 233 *et seq.*; Jamilla, *Hist. Conradi et Manfredi*, vol. viii. p. 495, the Ghibelline. Vide Sismondi, *Rep.* etc. vol. ii. pp. 46, 48.

[2] *Paradiso*, canto xi.

himself.[1] The little lambs hung up for slaughter excited his pity, and the captive birds his tender sympathy; the swallows he called his sisters, 'sororculæ meæ,' when he begged them to cease their twittering while he preached; the worm he carefully removed from his path, lest it should be trampled on by a less careful foot; and, in love with poverty,[2] he lived upon the simplest food, went clad in the scantiest garb, and enjoined chastity and obedience upon his followers, who within four years numbered no less than 50,000; but St. Dominic, though originally of a kind and compassionate nature,[3] sacrificed whole hecatombs of victims in his zeal for the Church, showing how far fanaticism can change the kindest heart, and make it look with complacency upon deeds which would have formerly excited its abhorrence.

Niccola Pisano.

Having now obtained some knowledge of his great contemporaries, let us turn to Niccola Pisano, who was born at Pisa between the years 1205 and 1207.[4] His father was a notary, called Pietro da Siena, on account of the long residence of his own father, Ser Biagio Pisano, in that city, where he exercised the functions of a magistrate.[5] As soon as he manifested his

[1] 'Sciens creaturas, quantumlibet parvas, unum secum habere principium (S. Bonaventura, *Vita di S. Francis*).

[2] Bossuet calls him 'le plus désespéré amateur de la pauvreté qui est peut-être dans l'église.'

'Cieco era il mondo, e tu failo visare.
Lebbroso, hai lo mondato;
Morto, l'hai suscitato;
Sceso a l'inferno failo al ciel montare' (*Guy d'Arezzo*).

[3] While a student at Valencia, he sold his books to give money to the victims of a famine, and offered to ransom a captive by giving himself up to slavery.

[4] Proved by an inscription on the fountain at Perugia, which states, that on its completion in the reign of Pope Nicholas III., A.D. 1277–80, Niccola Pisano was seventy-four years old (Vermiglioli, *Scultura della Fontana di Perugia*, p. 52, tav. 76).

[5] In the documents of the Archivio di S. Jacopo a Pistoja, date 1272, Niccola is mentioned as 'filius quondam Petri de ——;' and under date 1273,

natural genius, his father probably allowed him to study architecture, under some one of the master workmen employed about the Duomo and Baptistry, through whose teachings, as well as by the daily sight of those noble buildings, and of the ancient marbles that decorated them, he developed so rapidly, that, when scarcely fifteen years old, he obtained the appointment of architect to Frederic II., who then passed through Pisa, on his way to receive the imperial crown at Rome; and joining the suite of the emperor, witnessed his coronation in the month of November, and proceeded with him to Naples, where he was immediately ordered to complete Castel Capuano and Castel del Ovo, both of which buildings had been commenced under the Norman king William I. by the Florentine architect Bono.[1]

Appointed architect to Frederic II.

Goes to Naples.

Thus employed, Niccola spent the greater part of ten years at Naples, and when he left it, travelled to Padua, to design a Basilica in honour of St. Anthony (then lately deceased), than whom no one among the disciples of St. Francis was more conspicuous for holiness of life, and the gift of persuasive eloquence. Although born in an age of fierce and unbridled passion, he preached peace and good-will to men, enforced it by example, and so moved the vast audiences assembled around him, in city squares and open fields, that the bitterest enemies fell upon each other's necks and swore ever after to live like brothers. The astonishing effects produced by the Minorites, and the Preaching

Goes to Padua. A.D. 1231.

June 13, 1231.

St. Anthony of Padua.

'Mag. Nichole quondam Petri de Senis, Ser Blasii Pisanis.' Ser or Sire is a title indicative of nobility or office (Ciampi, *De' belli Arredi*, etc. p. 35; Vasari [Le Monnier], vol. i. p. 258; and Rio, *L'Art Chrétien*, vol. i. p. 6, note).

'Ego magister Niccholus olim Petri
Lapidum de Pissis, populi Sancti Blasii,' &c.
(Milanesi, *Doc.* no. 10, vol. i. p. 150).

[1] Vasari, vol. i. p. 261, note 4. Castel Capuano was long used as a palace by the Angevine kings. According to Ricci, these castles were finished by a Neapolitan architect, named Puccio (*St. delle Arch. in Italia*, vol. i. p. 593). Unfortunately we can form no idea of the appearance of these strongholds when finished by Niccola, since they were completely remodelled by the viceroy, Don Pedro, in the sixteenth century.

Friars, which surpass those achieved by ancient or modern orators, are not altogether attributable to their discourses (which, as we are told, generally consisted of Scripture texts and quotations, strung together in simple sequence), but in a great measure to the faith of the people in their sanctity and sincerity, and to the strong contrast which these angel-messengers of peace presented to the bloody tyrants who ground them to the dust.[1]

Sermons of St. Anthony.

In the sermons of St. Anthony, however,[2] whose texts are

[1] If we believe the statements of some writers, that these discourses were pronounced in Latin (vide Sismondi, vol. i. p. 510, and Abbate Bettinelli, *Risorgimento*, etc. vol. i. p. 109), which, it is true, differed far less from the then unformed Italian than from that of the present day, the prodigies produced by the eloquence of these friars, which recall those of Orpheus, and the magic effects of language exercised over the Greeks when, like the Italians, a new and enthusiastic people, strike us as still more astonishing. The question is a very difficult one to settle, for though their sermons are preserved to us in Latin, which we know was at that time the universal language of all who pretended to any sort of education, and was perhaps as much like the Italian then spoken by the common people, as the Venetian, Neapolitan, and Bolognese dialects are like pure Tuscan, so that precisely as a common person in any part of Italy can comprehend a stranger who speaks to him in pure Italian, one in his station in the thirteenth century might have been able to understand a Latin discourse, it is difficult to credit that a mass of uneducated people could have understood the Latin language sufficiently to have been so moved by discourses pronounced in it; and such proof that they did not is furnished us in a portion of the epitaph of Pope Gregory V. (996—999), which says—

'Usus Franciscæ, Vulgari, et voce Latinœ (*sic*)
Instituit populos eloquio triplici,'

evidently meaning that he used the French, the Italian, or the Latin tongue, as best suited the comprehension of his hearers.

[2] As, for instance, in the sermon for the Second Sunday after the Transfiguration, this passage—

'Sicut enim sapientes mundi quando volebant perscrutari dispositionem cœlestium, motus astrorum, ac etiam planetarum, montes ascendebant altissimos, ex quibus tam clarius quam latius aspiciebant cœlestia. Clarius quidem, quia illis aspicientibus nec ascendebant nebulæ nec venti. Latius vero, quia terra eos non impediebat quin possent videre libere circumquaque. Sic certe qui vult cœlestia mentaliter inspicere debet montem contemplationem ascendere, ad quem nebulæ phantasiarum ascendere nequeunt, nec venti tentationum, nec etiam

developed by images fitted to touch the heart, and illustrated by striking similes, there is enough of sentiment and fancy to explain the interest which they excited in the minds of his hearers, who gave him all their confidence, because they were convinced 'che le sue parole rispondevano alla sua santa vita,' and because so many of them had witnessed his fearlessness in rebuking sin, when he saluted the iniquitous tyrant of Padua with the words, 'O most cruel tyrant, and mad dog! the terrible sentence of God hangs over thee. When wilt thou cease to spill the blood of innocent men?' and had wondered at his power when they saw the monster, whom all feared, fall upon his knees, with a cord about his neck, before the man of God, confessing his sins and imploring pardon.[1] Soon after the death of Il Santo (as he is styled by the Paduans), he was canonised by Pope Gregory IX.; and offerings, which eventually accumulated to an immense amount, were made towards building a Basilica in his honour; and a sum of 4,000 lire was annually spent during the seventy years occupied in its erection. In the design which he furnished for it, Niccola Pisano, being himself an Eclectic and eminently susceptible to new impressions, whose results he grafted upon classical forms (to which, like the Italian architects in general, he clung with extraordinary tenacity), and living at a time when architectural ideas were in an unsettled state in Italy, attempted to amalgamate many styles into a harmonious whole. The Gothic elements which he used were a homage to the

His power over Eccelino.

May 30, 1232.

Niccola architect of the Basilica di San Antonio.

turbines humanæ sollicitudinis quæ mentes habent involvere, non etiam terrena affectio se opponit quæ solet aspectus latitudinem impedire (*Sancti Francisci Assisiatis, nec non S. Antonii Paduani, Opera omnia*, Parisiis, 1641, p. 160).

[1] 'Adjecitque (i.e. Eccelino) "Viri commilitones, non mirum vobis istud videatur, nam revera divinum quemdam vidi fulgorem ex hujus vultu vibrari, qui adeo me perterruit, ut me repente in terram demersum iri vererer"' (*Vita S. Antonii*, caput xxii.; *Sancti Francisci Assisiatis, nec non S. Antonii Paduani, Opera omnia*). The chronicler Salimbene, who thought that as Christ had sent His counterpart upon the earth in the person of St. Francis, so the Devil had sent Eccelino, says, 'De fratribus minoribus plus timebat in suis factis, quam de aliquibus aliis personis in mundo.'

peculiar predilections of the followers of St. Francis; the clustering Byzantine cupolas showed the effect produced upon him by the church of St. Mark at Venice; while the Romanesque façade told that he had not forgotten the well-beloved Duomo at Pisa, under the shadow of whose walls his early years had been spent.[1] While on the one hand this combination of styles, which was habitual to Niccola, corroborates the traditional belief that he was the architect of this church, it weighs equally against the statement (based upon a misinterpreted passage of Vasari) that he was that of the Frari at Venice, whose simple Gothic features, and geometrical rather than sculptural ornaments, belong to quite another school.[2]

Could not have built the Frari at Venice.

A.D. 1237. Four years before the corner-stone of the basilica of San Antonio was laid, Niccola left the north of Italy, and made his first known essay as a sculptor, in an alto-rilievo of the Deposition, which still fills a lunette over one of the side doors of the cathedral of San Martino at Lucca. The old legend of the taking down of our Lord's body from the cross, which is closely followed in this composition, says that 'while Nicodemus drew forth the nails which fastened the feet, Joseph of Arimathæa sustained the body, so that the head and arms of the dead Saviour hung over his shoulder, and the afflicted mother, seeing this, rose on her feet,

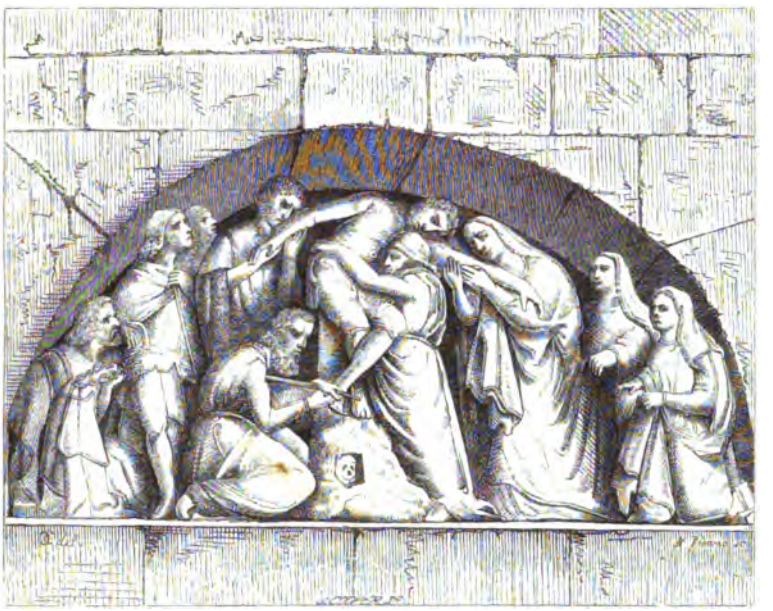
Niccola's first known sculptural work.

[1] The most important work upon this church is that entitled *La Basilica di S. Antonio*, by the Padri Gonzati and Isnenghi (see vol. i. pp. 120, 121). Selvatico and Ricci attribute only a part of it to Niccola; but Vasari, Gonzati (vol. i. pp. 120, 121), Burckhardt, Morrona (vol. ii. p. 61), and Cicognara (vol. ii. p. 170) assert that he built the whole of it, or, at least, completely designed it (vide *Not. St. sull' Arch. Pad. est. dal Giornale di Belle Arti.* Venezia, 1834).

[2] Selvatico, *Architettura et Scultura in Venezia*, p. 98; Ricci, *St. dell' Architettura in Italia*, vol. ii. p. 328. No one who has seen the cupolas of St. Mark's, and those of San Antonio, can doubt that Niccola went to Venice before designing the latter; but as the influence of the Pisan school of sculpture (which he had not yet founded) was long afterwards brought to bear upon the Venetian by his scholars, we can found no theory of his having resided there upon any works in his manner which exist at Venice.

and she took the bleeding hands of her Son as they hung down, and clasped them in her own, and kissed them tenderly.'[1]

In the bas-relief, the two Marys kneel behind the standing figure of the Virgin, who holds one of our Lord's arms; and on the opposite side, behind St. John, who holds the other, stand two



THE DEPOSITION. (By Niccola Pisano. Circa 1234.)

figures, in front of whom kneels a man, who seems to be holding the crown of thorns. The centre is occupied by the grandly conceived form of Joseph of Arimathæa, who sustains the drooping, lifeless body of our Lord in his arms, while Nicodemus detaches it from the cross, which is planted upon a rock, in whose hollow cavity is placed a skull, to mark the spot as Golgotha,[2]

[1] Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 288.

[2] The old Jewish legend states that Adam was buried on Mount Calvary; according to the Mohammedans, by Melchisedec, the son of Shem, who had saved his body in the Ark during the Deluge. This the early artists indicated by a snake at the foot of the Cross (emblem of the Tempter, whose head was to be trampled on), and a skull with cross-bones over it. Thus, where the old Adam is, there also is the New; where the sinner, there also is the Liberator; where the originator of death, there also the Originator of life. 'Ibi Abraam et

The great superiority of this work over those that had preceded it, lay especially in that it revived the long-forgotten art of composition. If we compare it with Antelami's bas-relief of the same subject from the Duomo at Parma (vide Introduction, p. 34), we shall see, that while in that the figures are processionally arranged on either side of the cross, instead of being grouped together with unity of action around the central figure, in this each lends his aid to the object in view, so that the principal actors in the scene form a group, which arrests the attention as a whole.

A glance at the reliefs, sculptured by some of Niccola's contemporaries, about the door of the Duomo adjoining that over which his Deposition stands, will satisfy anyone of its greater excellence; and as it was made before he had gone through that course of study upon which he afterwards founded his second and most characteristic style, it may be taken as an example of what he could accomplish without such study, and therefore of his comparatively uncultivated powers. To the same category belong three statuettes of the Madonna, St. Dominic, and the Magdalen, in niches on the outside of the Misericordia Vecchia, at Florence, which are in themselves of little value; though the Madonna is interesting as the prototype of all future Madonnas of the Pisan school. In strict accordance with the spirit of early Christian art, which demanded the concealment of her figure, she is amply draped; and in token of her peculiar mission of showing Christ to the world, she holds Him far from her, as though her natural affection were absorbed in reverence for His Divine nature.[1]

Statuettes at Florence.

The year in which Niccola made these statuettes is unknown; but we may suppose it to have been about 1248, when he was certainly at Florence, employed in an act of Ghibelline vengeance, which wreaked itself on the homes as well as on the persons of

Isaac et Jacob conditi sunt, et ipse princeps humani generis Adam,' etc. (I. Kreuser, *Christliche Kirchenbau*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80; W. Menzel, *Christliche Symbolik*, vol. i. p. 28).

[1] Kreuser, *Christliche Kirchenbau*, vol. i. p. 109.

the Guelphs. Incited by the emperor, and headed by his son Frederic of Antioch with 1,500 horse, the Ghibellines, after driving their enemies out of the city, proceeded to throw down thirty-six lofty towers, and many palaces lately occupied by the Guelphs, of which the most remarkable was the Toringhi, above whose successive ranges of marble columns rose a tower 250 feet in height.[1]

He is employed to destroy the Baptistry at Florence.

Desiring to annihilate also the venerable Baptistry, which had been a favourite place of worship with the Guelphs, but not daring to use direct means, they employed Niccola Pisano to throw down upon it a neighbouring tower, called Guardamorto, because corpses intended for burial in the Baptistry were previously exposed for eighteen hours in its chambers. To do this, Niccola (who, we must hope, secretly desired to save the Baptistry) removed the stone foundations of the tower on one side, and replaced them with beams, to which he set fire, and when these were burned away, 'it fell,' says Villani, 'by the grace of God and through a special miracle of St. John, straight across the Piazza.'[2]

Churches and palaces built by Niccola Pisano.

The unrecorded years which passed between Niccola's visit to Lucca and his stay in Florence, and the twelve which immediately followed the overthrow of the Guardamorto Tower, were probably occupied in building many churches and palaces, the exact date of whose construction is uncertain, but of which he is universally allowed to have been the architect. Among these are the churches of Santa Trinità at Florence,[3] S. Domenico at Arezzo, the Duomo at Volterra, the Pieve and Santa Margherita at Cortona, all of which he designed, rebuilt or enlarged, and all of which have been subsequently remodelled. The church of San Michele in Borgo, which he began, and his scholar Frà Guglielmo

[1] Cantu, *St. degli Italiani*; Malespina, *Hist. Fior.* pp. 94, 95.

[2] Giovanni Villani, ch. xxxiii. p. 177.

[3] Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 60. According to Villani, this church was built in the year 801; rebuilt after Niccola's design in 1230. It was reconstructed in 1593 by B. Buontalanti.

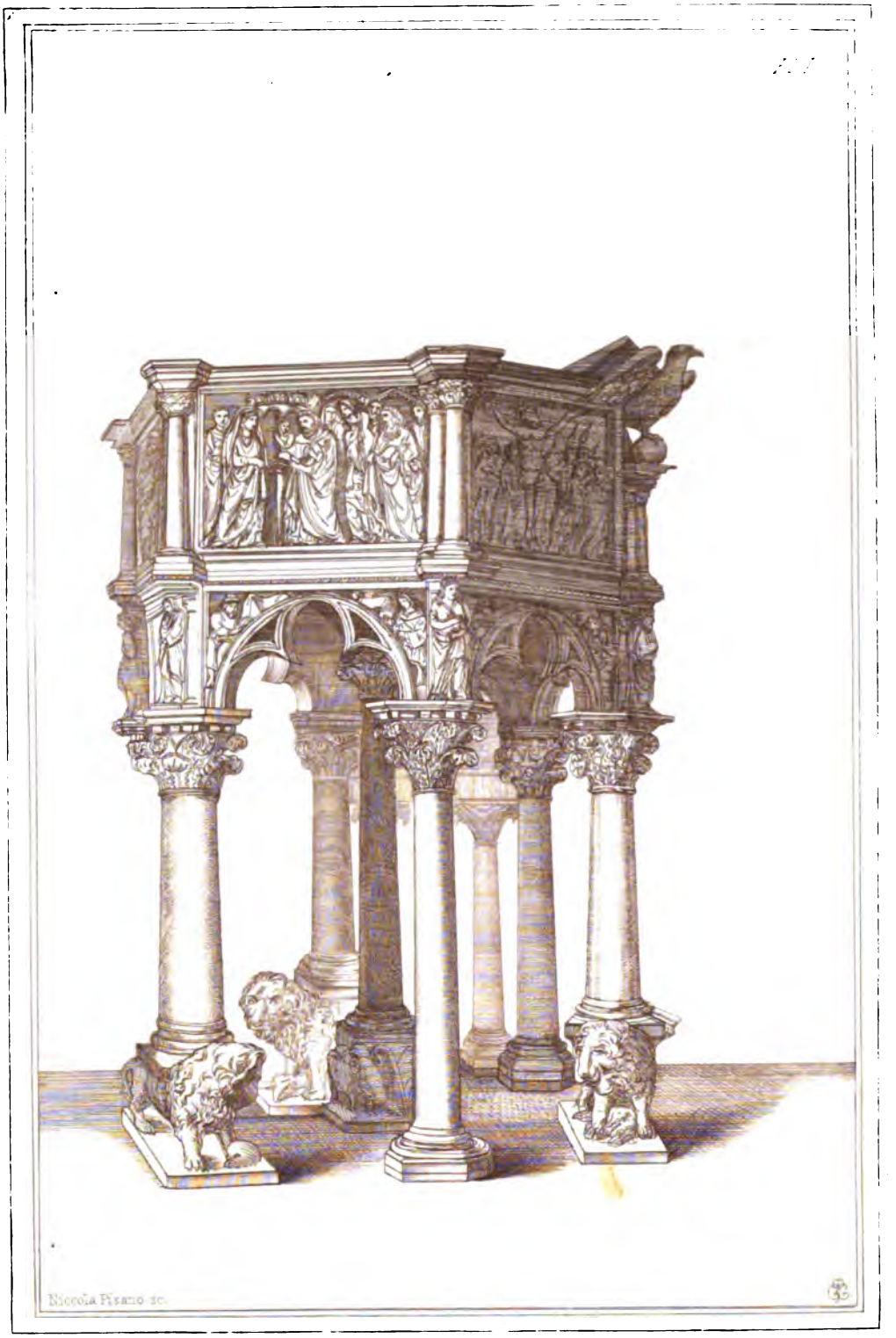
Agnelli finished, and the ingeniously constructed campanile of the church of San Niccolo,[1] which he built, are still extant; but many of the buildings which were erected by him or his scholars at Pisa, were destroyed by the great fire which desolated that city in the year 1610. Among them were the church of San Matteo, whose external southern walls and cloister alone escaped, and the palace of the magistrates (adjoining the Torre della Fame, where Ugolino and his children miserably perished), upon whose foundations Vasari subsequently built the convent of the Cavalieri di San Stefano.[2]

Although Niccola Pisano had widely established his fame as an architect during the first half of the thirteenth century, it was not until the year 1260 that he produced a work which at once placed him equally high as a sculptor. With the exception of the Deposition relief at Lucca and the statuettes at Florence, his constant architectural commissions had not, so far as we know, left him any leisure for sculpture, but from the difference of style perceptible between them and the bas-reliefs of the pulpit[3] which he now undertook for the Baptistry at Pisa, we are forced to conclude that he had in the mean time turned his thoughts

[1] Founded on an octagonal base, it is divided into four stories, each varied in order and ornament: the first two are eight-sided, and adorned with pilasters; the third is surrounded by isolated columns, forming a spacious peristyle, upon which rises the fourth, hexagonal in shape, and terminating in a pyramid. The round interior is ascended by a spiral staircase, so constructed that persons ascending or descending are always visible to each other. Bramante imitated it in a staircase which he built for Julius II. in the Belvidere; and Antonio di San Gallo in the famous well at Orvieto, which he built for Clement VII.

[2] Vasari, vol. i. p. 262; Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 59. That Niccola had any hand in building the façade of the Duomo at Siena, as stated by Vasari, is now known to be false (Milanesi, *St. di Siena*, etc. p. 135; Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 71).

[3] 'Anno milleno bis centum, bisque triceno,
Hoc opus insigne sculpsit Niccola Pisano,
Laudetur digne tam bene docta manus'
(*Inscription upon the pulpit*).



PULPIT IN THE BAPTISTRY AT PISA

and studies to sculpture, and had found in the antique a sure guide to that improvement of style which he sought. Not only does the general character of his second style bear out this belief, but the direct imitation in two of his pulpit reliefs of the Phædra from the bas-relief on the sarcophagus of the Countess Beatrice,[1] and of the bearded Bacchus on a Greek vase in the Campo Santo, furnishes positive proof of it. That his reproductions want the elegance and grace of the originals, here lost in a squareness and solidity of form and heaviness of drapery generally characteristic of Niccola's sculptures, merely proves his want of skill, and resembles the result obtained by Roman sculptors, who imitated Greek art at Rome in the days of the Empire.

Visible influence of the antique upon his second style.

The form of pulpit general throughout Italy up to this time was that of a sarcophagus, supported upon four columns, and sculptured with reliefs on three sides, such as may be seen in the Duomo at Monza, and in the churches of San Bartolomeo and San Giovanni fuori civitas at Pistoja. Niccola's Pisan pulpit (see Plate I.), which is of quite a different type, and far more ornate and elegant, is hexagonal, by which he gained more space for sculptural decoration. It has many supporting columns, spanned by round arches, which are filled in with Gothic tracery, and with a multitude of statuettes, placed above the Corinthian and Byzantine capitals, and in the spandrils of the arches.

The pulpit in the Pisan Baptistry.

Its columns are supported, like those of the Lombard church porticoes, upon the backs of lions, the emblems of sacerdotal vigilance, and symbols of Jesus Christ and His Resurrection.[2] The five bas-reliefs upon it represent the Birth of Christ, the

[1] Wife of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, and mother of the Countess Matilda, died A.D. 1076. This sarcophagus, when opened in 1810, was found to contain the fragments of a wooden sceptre, four little globes of ivory and lead, and a few small pieces of coin (Morrona, *Pisa Illustrata*, vol. i. p. 295, note 1).

[2] In allusion to the fable related by Aristotle and Pliny, that if by chance a lion whelp was born dead, the mother kept him for three days, after which the father breathed in his face, and thus restored him to life (Selvatico, *St. dell'*

Adoration of the Magi, the Circumcision, the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment. The first of these follows the Byzantine type in composition, but differs from it utterly in that its long meagre figures and stiff folds are replaced by short round-limbed forms, draped in broad flowing robes. In the Adoration (see Plate II.), which is decidedly the best and most original of the series, sits a dignified Madonna (suggested by the Phædra of the sarcophagus) holding the Divine Child upon her knees, who graciously leans forward to receive the costly myrrh, typical of His burial, from Caspar, King of the Ethiopians; the incense, symbolic of God, and of the priest after the order of Melchisedec, from Balthazar King of Saba; and the little golden apple, in token of allegiance to the King of the earth, from Melchior, King of the Arabians. Behind the Madonna stands St. Joseph; next to him an angel, and still further to the left the three fiery-looking steeds of the three kings.

In the Circumcision relief, the Bacchus with Ampelus of the already mentioned Greek vase is almost exactly reproduced in an imposing amply draped figure, who assists at the holy rite.

The two other compositions, representing the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment, were more effectively treated by Niccola in the pulpit which he afterwards made for the Duomo at Siena. The rude expedient here resorted to of filling up the spaces which were too small for full-sized figures by disproportionately smaller ones, is a barbarism which, considering their many superior qualities, may well be overlooked.[1]

L'Arca di S. Domenico.

After completing this very beautiful pulpit, Niccola went to

Arti del Disegno, vol. ii. pp. 93, 94). The lion is also a symbol of wisdom and a companion of Solomon the Wise. The true Solomon is Christ, who is represented with twelve lions, typical of the twelve Apostles. Christ is called in the Revelation, the Lion of the stem of Judah (Kreuser, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 189)

[1] Rumohr suggests that Niccola could hardly have executed reliefs technically so superior to any made before his day, unless, like the bronze casters, he had first modelled them in clay, a practice unknown to Italian sculptors in the Middle Ages (Rumohr, *Italianische Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 272).

Bas Relief and Statuette.

From the Pulpit in the Baptistry at Pisa

Bologna to sculpture a sarcophagus for the remains of 'Il Santo Atleta,' St. Dominic, who died there August 6, 1221. His body was buried in a wooden coffin without any special sign of honour or reverence, and there remained until Pope Gregory IX., being about to canonise him, ordered Il Beato Girolamo of Saxony, second general of the order, to transfer his remains to a plain stone sarcophagus, after their verification by the Archbishop of Ravenna; and on June 5, 1267, as we learn through a letter written by Il Beato Bartolomeo, Bishop of Vicenza (himself an eye-witness), the Archbishop of Ravenna again presided over the transfer of the oft-displaced bones, 'de tumulo lapideo non cælato, ad marmoreum et cælatum,' from the plain stone receptacle to the sculptured sarcophagus which Niccola Pisano and his scholar Frà Guglielmo Agnelli had commenced two years before.[1] A.D. 1265. A.D. 1233.

Two miracles worked by the saint, and certain events connected with the establishment of his order, furnished Niccola with materials for his bas-reliefs, the most elaborate of which illustrates the following story. 'On Ash Wednesday, A.D. 1215, the Abbess and some of her nuns went to take possession of the new monastery of St. Sixtus at Rome; and being in the chapter house with St. Dominic and Cardinal Stefano di Torre Nuova, suddenly there came in one tearing his hair, and making great outcries, for the young Lord Napoleon, nephew of the Cardinal, had been thrown from his horse and killed on the spot. The Cardinal fell speechless into the arms of St. Dominic, and the

[1] The Annals of the Convent of St. Catherine furnish the following proof of the correctness of these dates, and of the co-operation of Frà Guglielmo: 'Hic (Fr. Gulielmus), cum Beati Dominici corpus sanctissimum in solemniori tumulo levaretur, quem sculpserant Magistri Nicoli de Pisis Policretior manu (*sic*), sociatus dicto architectori,' etc.; and 'Frater Gulielmus conversus sculptor egregius, cum Nicholaus Pisanus Patris nostri Dominici sacras reliquias in marmoreo, vel potius alabastrino sepolcro a se facto collocaret, præsens erat et ipse adjuvabat A.D. 1267' (*Arch. St. Ital.* vol. vi. pp. 467—474, pub. by Prof. Bonaini; Padre Marchesi, *Mem.* etc. vol. i. p. 72, 73).

women and others who were present were filled with grief and horror. They brought the body of the youth into the Chapter-house, and laid it before the altar, and Dominic, having prayed, turned to the body of the young man, saying, "O adolescens Napoleo, in nomine Domini nostris, tibi dico surge," and thereupon he arose sound and whole, to the unspeakable wonder of all present.'[1]

With a just sense of the capabilities of his subject, Niccola represented the resuscitation of the youth, not in the chapter-house, but on the spot where the accident occurred, which enabled him to introduce the fallen horse, as well as the praying saint and the crowding spectators, and thus, at once, show the cause and effect of the untoward accident. The story could not have been more clearly or distinctly told, nor could the central group have been more happily combined to attract and fix the attention; as, while the actors are full of movement, the numerous personages in the background are so quiet in attitude and line, that they do not distract the eye from the dead youth, the young men who raise him from the ground, the saint, and the fallen horse.

The other relief upon the front of the sarcophagus, which is separated from the first by a statuette of the Madonna holding the Divine Child in her arms, represents St. Dominic disputing with heretics in Languedoc, and submitting his own works and the Manichæan books to the trial by fire, in which the latter perished, while the former remained unscathed. On one end of the Arca two events are set forth in the same compartment, namely, the apostles Peter and Paul consigning the Gospels to the saint, that he may disseminate them for the conversion of heretics, and the saint giving the Holy Word to his monks, that they may carry out the Apostolic command; and on the other, angels without wings, in the simple dress of acolytes, bringing bread to the brotherhood in time of famine. At the four corners of the Arca, stand four statuettes of the four Doctors of the

[1] Mrs. Jameson, *op. cit.* p. 369.

Church. The two compartments at the back, which are separated by a statuette of the Redeemer, were designed by Niccola, and sculptured by his scholar Frà Guglielmo Agnelli. They represent St. Reginald of Orleans, the disciple of St. Dominic, smitten with disease and falling into the arms of a young man; his restoration by the Madonna, who points out to him the dress of the Preaching Friars, which she orders him to put on, and his liberation from a great temptation by the placing of his hands in those of St. Dominic; the vision of Pope Honorius III., his examination of the constitution of the Dominican order, and his solemn approval of the same. These reliefs are greatly inferior in design to those on the front and sides of the Arca, owing to the crowding of too many events into a small space; and as they also fall far short of them in modelling, proportion, and technical execution, prove that Frà Guglielmo Agnelli was hardly equal to the task assigned him in his master's absence.

Frà Guglielmo Agnelli. A.D. 1238.

He had been under Niccola's guidance from his early youth, and when at the age of nineteen he became a monk in the convent of St. Catherine at Pisa, continued to study architecture and sculpture, as the exercise of these professions was perfectly compatible with his new position, in an age when art was almost exclusively confined to religious subjects.

While working as Niccola's assistant upon the Arca di S. Domenico, Frà Guglielmo displayed his monkish zeal, by secretly possessing himself of one of the saint's ribs, at the time of the translation of his remains (though the general of the Domenicans had been authorised to excommunicate any person guilty of such a theft), and carrying it back with him to Pisa, concealed it under the altar of the Magdalen in the convent of St. Catherine. There it remained until he lay on his death-bed, when, fearing to die unabsolved, he confessed his pious sin, and 'if,' says the convent chronicler, 'piety can absolve from theft, Frà Guglielmo is to be praised, though never to be imitated.' [1]

[1] Marchesi, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 75, 77.

In 1293 Frà Guglielmo worked at Orvieto upon the bas-reliefs of the façade of the cathedral, though, judging from his authenticated works, none of the best can be by him.[1] Eleven years later he was engaged upon the façade of San Michele in Borgo at Pisa, for which he probably sculptured the rude statue of the Madonna and Child which stands under a Gothic tabernacle over the principal entrance, a work in every respect inferior to the four bas-reliefs of the Nativity, the Adoration, the Flight into Egypt and the Presentation, now set up on either side of the tribune in the Duomo at Pisa, but which were intended for a pulpit which he never completed. As an architect he rendered valuable services to his community, by rebuilding the convent of St. Catherine, which must have been newly completed in the year 1272, as St. Thomas Aquinas then presided over a general assembly within its walls.

Frà Guglielmo died in 1340, as did his one scholar Frate Fazio, like himself a monk in the convent of St. Catherine, 'a devout and discreet man, who honourably filled various offices in the fraternity.'[2]

We must now return to the Arca di San Domenico, and examine the great monumental altar of which it forms the centre, and which is interesting as an epitome of sculptural styles, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. More than 200 years after the Arca was completed (A.D. 1469), a scholar of Giacomo della
N. 1414. M. 1494. Quercia, named Niccola da Bari, sculptured the curved surface above the Arca, which is covered with symmetrically arranged leaves, and divided by eight large zones terminating in volutes, upon which stand statuettes of SS. Francis, Dominic, Florian, Proculus, John the Baptist, and Petronius.[3] On the top of the structure stands a statuette of God the Father, holding a globe upon a

[1] Vide Chapter IV. upon the Sienese School.

[2] *Arch. St. Ital.* vol. vi. clx. p. 504.

[3] The S. Petronius is said to be an early work of Michael Angelo's. For a notice of Niccola da Bari, called *Dell' Arca*, see Appendix to Chapter IV. letter D.

vase-shaped pedestal, from the handles of which hang festoons of flowers and fruit, pressed outwards by the hands and feet of two little angels. Between these festoons, which rest upon dolphins and fall upon a flat base (at the four corners of which are statuettes of prophets), is an Ecce Homo, between two adoring angels, which were sculptured in the sixteenth century by the Florentine sculptor Tribolo. Below this stands the Arca, upon an altar, whose gradino is covered with delicate 'stiacciato' reliefs by Alphonso Lombardi di Ferrara. At either end of the altar are placed candle-bearing angels, one of which (that to the left) is believed to have been made by Michael Angelo, when he took refuge at Bologna after the flight of Piero de' Medici.[1] A.D. 1494 —1495.

In the first half of the sixteenth century Girolamo Coltellini made the St. John, and perhaps some of the other statuettes, which stand upon the volutes above the Arca; and in the seventeenth Carlo Bianconi sculptured the bas-relief representing the entombment of St. Dominic, which fills the panel of the altar front, and Manno Tesi, Salvolini, and a French sculptor named Boudaud, the ornaments about it. Instead of regarding their work as simply intended to set off the Arca, and keeping it as much as possible in harmony with that of Niccola, each of these sculptors thought only of himself; but though they thus sacrificed unity to personality, they made the simple earnestness of the old sculptor all the more conspicuous by contrast, and proved once more the great truth, that technical skill is little in comparison with those higher qualities which give the true artist's works an inappreciable value.

Pulpit in the Duomo at Siena.

It was in the year 1266, as we have already mentioned, that Niccola Pisano came from Bologna to Siena to make a contract for a pulpit for the Duomo,[2] by which he bound himself to reside

[1] Gualandi (*Mem. di Belli Arti, Ser. V.* p. 32) discredits the tradition, not only on account of its complete dissimilarity, but also because the convention made with Niccola dell' Arca, in 1469, does not admit such a supposition.

[2] Milanese, *Doc. dell' Arte Sanesi*, vol. i. pp. 145 *et seq.* nos. 8, 9, 10. The first contract bears date Oct. 5, 1266.

in that city until its completion, with liberty to visit Pisa four times a year, for a fortnight at a time, not counting the days employed in going and returning, and consented to be paid at the rate of eight soldi a day (a sum equivalent to twelve Tuscan pauls of the present currency), besides his living. His assistants were to be his son Giovanni, and his scholars Arnolfo del Cambio, Donato, and Lapo.

As the pulpit was to stand beneath the dome of an immense cathedral, Niccola made it of larger dimensions than that at Pisa, and octagonal instead of hexagonal. He also almost exactly repeated the bas-reliefs of the Nativity and the Crucifixion of his Pisan pulpit in two of its panels, but treated those of the Adoration and the Last Judgment quite differently, and added two entirely new compositions representing the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt.

Although the Last Judgment is a subject which cannot be adequately treated in sculpture, and one which, from the vastness of its nature, necessarily led Niccola to overcrowd the small space at his disposition with a somewhat confused mass of figures, he showed great skill in its composition, and a power of conception which is all the more wonderful in one who, unlike Orcagna, Signorelli, and Michael Angelo, could not have fired his imagination with the vivid descriptions of Dante's 'Inferno.' As in the Pisan, the columns of the Sienese pulpit rest upon the backs of lions, and have statuettes placed singly and in groups above their capitals; while its flat spaces are filled in with open work, leaves, grotesques, and gilded glass mosaics,[1] and it is entered by an

[1] By a celebrated glass-worker, painter, and sculptor of Siena, named Pastorino Pastorini; flourished 1531–1560; scholar of Guglielmo Marcilla, or Di Marcillat, a French painter on glass and in fresco, who lived some time at Arezzo, and painted the windows in the episcopal palace there. He painted the round window of the Duomo at Siena in 1548. Pastorini made portraits in the round, or in medals of coloured wax, and medallions in bronze, for which he attained great reputation. From 1554 to 1557 he worked at Ferrara for Duke Hercules II. See Commentary to the *Life of Guglielmo da Marcilla,*

elaborately ornamented staircase in the style of the Renaissance, which, though exquisite in workmanship, is not in harmony with the main structure. On this account, and also because the eye is distracted by the grandeur and beauty of the great cathedral in which it stands, the Sienese pulpit is less effective than the Pisan, which, being the one object of attraction in the Baptistry, completely absorbs the attention.

Niccola's influence upon Sienese sculpture.

The residence of Niccola Pisano at Siena was most important in its influence upon the school of sculpture, which, though then inferior, rose to considerable eminence in the next century. The sixty-one sculptors who, as Della Valle informs us, kept open shop in the city at the period of Niccola's visit, were in fact mere stone-cutters, who with their brother architects had been formed into a corporation since the year 1212, from which period until the middle of the following century their numbers increased; and after Niccola Pisano had endowed their city with an admirable subject for study in his famous pulpit, they made great progress and paved the way for Agostino and Angelo, Gano, Goro, and Tino in the fourteenth century, and for Quercia in the fifteenth. Thus we find Niccola Pisano's influence manifest everywhere; in the north, at Venice and Padua; in the south, at Naples; and in the central parts of Italy, at Pisa, Florence, Lucca and Siena. We are now to find him in his old age again in the south, employed by the man who had annihilated the power of his early patron, to memorialise the extinction of that patron's house.

Events which led to the extinction of the house of Suabia.

While he was making the pulpit at Siena, the last scene of the long struggle between the papal and imperial power had been played out on the battle-field of Tagliacozzo; the last scion of the Suabian house had died the death of a felon, and Charles of Anjou, the ambitious and unscrupulous agent of papal vengeance,

Vasari, vol. viii. p. 112. The staircase to this pulpit is said to be the work of Il Marrina, a Sienese sculptor, who lived in the first part of the fifteenth century. See Chapter IV. vol. i.

Dec. 13, 1250. had been firmly seated on the throne of Frederic II. After that emperor's death, Manfred, one of his many illegitimate children, and guardian of his grandson Conradino, had usurped his throne, and successfully battled against the armies of the Church.

Moved by motives of policy, for his position was at best precarious, Manfred had offered great temporal advantages to Pope Urban IV.; but these weighed little in the pope's mind against Manfred's continued and energetic resistance to papal encroachments, and his pretensions to universal dominion; and being a Frenchman by birth, and in nowise moved by that patriotism which had partially inspired Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. to oppose Germanic domination, Urban offered the

Charles of Anjou. crown of the Two Sicilies to Charles of Anjou as the surest means of bringing about the downfall of his enemy. These views were fully shared by Clement IV., who before Charles of Anjou landed

Defeat and death of Manfred, May 1265. in Italy, had succeeded Urban on the papal throne. The defeat and death of Manfred at the battle of Beneventum, in the following year, put an end to the twenty-one years' struggle, which had lasted since the deposition of Frederic II. at Lyons by Pope Innocent IV., removed the sceptre of Sicily from the House of Suabia, and apparently rendered the long-dreaded union of Southern Italy and Germany impossible. There remained, however, one obstacle to the complete security of the pope, in the

The history of Conradino. existence of Conradino, who, then fifteen years of age, was living at Landshut with his mother, Elizabeth of Bavaria, and her second husband Count Meinhardt de Coritz. He was a handsome generous youth, expert in all manly exercises, a poet like his grandfather and uncle, and, thanks to the Bishop of Constance, who superintended his education, a good Latin scholar and well versed in ancient literature.

Taught from childhood to look forward to the day when he should restore the fortunes of his ancestral house, he was no unwilling listener to the Ghibelline envoys, who came to him at this time with promises of money, arms, and troops. To these

assurances of support were added those of his uncles, the Dukes Louis and Henry, of his stepfather, and, more than all, of Henry of Castile, Senator of Rome, who had been driven to join the Ghibellines by hatred of Charles of Anjou. Having at last quieted the prophetic fears of his mother, Conradino issued a manifesto to the princes of the Empire, in which he enumerated the many wrongs which he had endured at the hands of his papal enemies, of whom he said, 'Innocent has injured me innocent, Urban has been wanting to me in urbanity, and Clement in clemency;'[1] and thus concluded, 'Not content with depriving us of our heritage in Italy, the pope persecutes us in Germany, refuses us pardon, takes from us the name of king, puts the sickle into our harvest by giving Charles the title of Imperial Vicar, and, as if these rigours were not enough to use against an innocent person, launches against us the thunders of the Church. What evil have we done you, O Sovereign Pontiff, that you should treat us as if the life of one, who calls Heaven to witness for the clearness of his conscience, were in itself a crime in your eyes?'

Soon after, having assembled his troops at Augsburg, Conradino, accompanied by his uncle Louis of Bavaria, his stepfather, his friend and counsellor Rudolph of Hapsburg, and his young cousin Frederic of Baden,[2] marched by Innspruck to Verona, and made his entrance into that city at the head of 12,000 men. There he remained for the space of three months, during which time he not only lost two-thirds of his soldiers by desertion, but also saw his uncle and stepfather return to Germany, under pretence of obtaining for him the imperial crown, but really because they dared not proceed in face of the

Conradino crosses the Alps, Oct. 20, 1267.

[1] Codex, *It. Dip.* t. 11. No. 41, pp. 937–940; M. Cherrièr, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 234.

[2] Frederic was son of Hermann Margrave of Baden, and Gertrude, daughter of Duke Frederic of Austria, last of the Babenbergs (Kington, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 423).

pope's menaces of excommunication. The shock of this double defection was somewhat softened by the arrival of a body of troops from Pavia, and by the warm reception of his envoy Galvano Lancia by the Senator and people of Rome; and he marched to Pavia, where he received pecuniary aid, which enabled him to reach Pisa, where he was received with imperial honours.

These events were watched by Pope Clement with undisguised consternation. From the highest windows of his palace at Viterbo he looked down upon the army of the prince, which defiled, as if in a spirit of bravado, beneath the city walls, on its march to Rome; and though at Pentecost he had declared that 'this young man, doomed to destruction, was led on to death by wicked advisers, like a sheep to the shambles,' he now trembled for the result. On his arrival at Rome, Conradino, who was received by Henry of Castile with the honours due to the head of the Empire, made his entry into the city through streets whose pavements were carpeted with flowers and spanned by triumphal arches, and whose houses were linked together by cords heavy with 'precious garments and furs, Eastern carpets, stuffs from Sicily and Damascus, knightly purses, scarfs of silk and gold, necklaces and jewels,' and proceeded immediately to the Capitol, where he pronounced a discourse (often interrupted by the joyous shouts of the people), in which he declared them his heirs, if he should die in the prosecution of his enterprise. Daily, during his stay at Rome, reinforcements arrived from the Marches, Tuscany, and the Sicilian States, and Henry of Castile promised to accompany him against Charles of Anjou at the head of 800 Spanish troops.

His triumphal entry into Rome.

Thus materially strengthened, and buoyant with hope, Conradino marched out of the Porta San Lorenzo, and through Tivoli and Tagliacozzo, to a little village called La Scorgola, where he found himself in the vicinage of the foe, who after rapid marches (intended to intercept his progress) had encamped at Ovindolo, near Avezzano, on the borders of Lake Fucino. On the 22nd, Charles diminished the distance between the two armies,

He quits Rome Aug. 18, 1268.

by moving his troops to the hill of Alba, but declined the battle, to which the cries, shouts and calls to arms of Conradino's soldiers would have provoked him, on account of the over-fatigue of his men. The next day a bloody and decisive fight took place, in which Conradino's superior forces might have given him the victory, had the French army been commanded by a less brave and crafty leader than Errard, Sire de Valery, an old crusader, who on his way from the Holy Land had traversed the Abruzzi mountains with a troop of soldiers to visit Charles of Anjou (his companion in arms), by whom he was entrusted with the chief command. This 'haut baron, courtois et sage,' seeing that cunning on his part could alone make up for the numerical inferiority of his troops, sent a portion of Charles's army into the field, under the command of the Maréchal Henri de Cousance, wearing the king's armour, and preceded by the royal banner, and placed Charles, with 800 chosen cavaliers, behind a wooded hill, which completely concealed them from the enemy. Conradino, seeing before him, as he supposed, the whole army, commanded by the king in person, confidently led the attack. The encounter was terrible; the ground was soon strewn with the dead and dying, and the air resounded with cries of rage. At last, after an obstinate resistance, the French, overwhelmed by numbers, gave way, leaving their leader upon the field; and Conradino, believing Charles slain, and the victory gained, seated himself beneath the trees, on the banks of the little river Salto, and took off his armour, which by reason of the great heat had become oppressive, while his troops scoured the plain in pursuit of the flying enemy. Suddenly there came upon the air a sound of trumpets, and the well-known war-cry of the French, 'Montjoie! Montjoie!' and over the hill-side came pouring 800 chosen knights, with King Charles at their head. Thus rudely

The battle of Tagliacozzo.

[1] Dante (*Inferno*, canto xxviii.) speaks of the battle-field of Tagliacozzo, 'ove senz' arme vinse il vecchio Alardo.'

roused from his repose, Conradino vainly sought to rally his scattered forces, and lead them to battle; but all his efforts were vain, as, overpowered with terror, they fled, dragging him with them in their headlong flight. Seeing this, Henry of Castile, who had pursued the flying French after the first battle, returned to the charge, with a large body of troops, and so boldly attacked those who had become victors in their turn, that he might have redeemed the fortunes of the day, had not the astute old crusader, by simulating flight, drawn him to the place where Charles and the main body of his troops stood ready, and rallying his own followers, turned once more to fight a final battle, and gain a final victory. All being now lost, Conradino, after halting at Tagliacozzo long enough to take counsel, fled towards Rome with his cousin Frederic and a few followers. But the news of his defeat had preceded him; the Ghibellines were terror-stricken, and the Guelphs, who now showed themselves in the city, easily turned the fickle populace against him. For a day and a night the unhappy fugitive remained in the Coliseum, with the small body of troops which he had gathered around him in his flight, and then hearing that his enemies were preparing to besiege him there, secretly withdrew to Castel Saraceno with his cousin and a few noble Italian and German adherents. Disguising themselves as peasants, they then pushed on to Astura, a town upon the sea-coast, whence they intended to embark for Sicily, and where, according to one account, they imprudently offered a valuable ring in payment for food, which led to their recognition and seizure.[1] The better authenticated story, however, is, that when it was known in which direction Conradino and his companions had fled, attention was instantly drawn to a body of persons so evidently disguised, and that, soon after leaving the shore in a boat, for which they had paid an immense sum, they were pursued by a swift felucca, bearing the flag of Giovanni Frangipani, Lord of Astura. When

His defeat and flight.

[1] Collenuccio, *St. del Regno*, p. 136.

Conradino was told the name of his pursuers, he gave himself up without hesitation, supposing that this man, upon whom his grandfather (Frederic II.) had heaped benefits, would prove his friend; but in this he was cruelly deceived, for Frangipani, who had now become a staunch adherent of the pope, took no heed of his protestations, promises, and entreaties, and first imprisoned him at Astura, and then gave him up to the admiral of Charles's fleet, who removed him and his companions to Palestrina, and thence to Naples, where he was confined in the Castel dell' Uovo, and loaded with chains. The ill-starred prince, supposing that he would be saved if he were reconciled with the pope, and ignorant of the fact that when no longer excommunicate, he would fall under secular jurisdiction, demanded absolution; but as the pope must have known this when he granted his request, we are inclined to doubt the story that he secretly desired to save Conradino, and rather give credit to the tale, that when the king's messengers asked him what should be done with the prisoners, he silently replied by cutting off the heads of the poppies in his garden with his walking-stick, or answered (as the Neapolitan historians tell us), 'Vita Corradini, mors Caroli; mors Corradini, vita Caroli.' Not wishing to bear the undivided responsibility of their condemnation, Charles had them tried by a tribunal, to which his will was law, before which, Conradino, though not allowed to appear, was accused by Roberto de Bari, proto-notary, and especial creature of the king. Some of the French judges counselled mercy, while the Italians kept silence through shame, though inclined to rigour. This silence Charles saw fit to interpret as a condemnation, and immediately proceeded to pronounce sentence of death upon the eleven prisoners, and of confinement for life upon Henry of Castile, whom he spared as his relative. Although the young princes were totally unprepared for this result, they received the fatal messenger with great composure, only asking that their execution might be delayed for three days, in order that they might have time to prepare

He is seized and imprisoned

He is condemned to death.

themselves for death, and at the appointed time were led to the Mercato Nuovo, where the scaffold had been erected beneath a window, from which Charles of Anjou could look down upon the bloody spectacle. Unwilling to witness the death of his companions, Conradino asked and obtained permission to die first. His last words were a protest against the injustice of his sentence, and an appeal for mercy for the innocent man who had been brought to this fate by love for him. Touched by his youth, his beauty, and dignity, the people wept as they listened to him, but Charles remained unmoved; the fatal signal was given, the axe fell, and the last scion of the house of Suabia lay lifeless upon the scaffold. Transported with frenzy at this sight, the young Duke Frederic kissed the bleeding head of his cousin, and then, being seized and forced to the block, laid his own beside it. Tradition records, that as Conradino lay upon the ground, 'like a purple flower cut down by the unheeding sickle,' an eagle, descending from the sky, dipped his right wing in the sacred blood, and then soared aloft into the clouds. The mortal remains of the victims, being refused sepulture in consecrated ground, were interred under a heap of stones, in a ditch dug in the sand near the mouth of the river Sebeto; those of Conradino were afterwards removed by the successor of Charles of Anjou to the Carmine church, and buried under the high altar, whence his descendant Maximilian (then crown prince of Bavaria) removed them to the nave of the church, and placed over them a statue, sculptured by Thorwaldsen. About eighty years after Conradino's death, a chapel was erected on the spot where he was put to death, within which a column of porphyry was set up bearing this inscription—

His execution.

A.D. 1847.

> **Asturis ungue Leo pullum rapiens aquilinum,**
> **Hic deplumavit acephalumque dedit.**

A statue of his mother Elizabeth, with a crown upon her head, and a purse (allusive to her donations to the Carmelite church) in her hand, was also placed in the angle of a house near the

spot upon which her son was executed, whence it was removed to the Museum, where, though poor as a work of art, it must still excite interest as the sole memorial of the unhappy mother of a more unhappy son. It is said that she herself came to Naples, in a galley draped with black, to superintend the removal of Conradino's bones to the Carmine, towards the building of which she largely contributed.

Niccola Pisano is commissioned to build an abbey and convent at La Scorgola.

To commemorate his victory at Tagliacozzo, Charles commissioned Niccola Pisano to build an abbey and convent near the battle-field, within which the bones of the slain could be buried, and where daily and nightly masses should be said by the Templars for the repose of their souls. The site selected for these buildings, now a mass of crumbling ruins, the origin of which is marked only by the name of an adjoining church, Sta. Maria della Vittoria,[1] was a height overlooking the battle-field about ten miles from Tagliacozzo, interesting as the spot where Conradino first halted in his march from Rome. Looking from it over the little town of La Scorgola, whose houses cluster upon the hill-side, the traveller beholds, with a delight tempered with sad associations, the exquisite view spread out before him. The fatal plain, the sparkling lake, the grand background of mountains whose chain culminates in the snow-capped Velino, the ruins of the old Marsian city of Alba which supplied a mass of material for the construction of the now ruined abbey, are before him, unchanged in general effect since the sad day which gave them a never-failing interest. As Niccola himself stood there, we cannot doubt that thick-coming memories thronged upon him of the days, then

[1] Carlo Promis, *Degli Artefici Marmorarii Romani*, p. 15, note 23. A festival to commemorate the victory of Charles of Anjou is held at Santa Maria della Vittoria every hundred years. Over the altar of the church is a statue dug up in the neighbourhood by a citizen of Tagliacozzo, which perhaps belonged to the old abbey. The dispute which arose as to whether it should be taken to Tagliacozzo or La Scorgola, was settled by placing it on the back of a mule, who, left to himself, carried it back to La Scorgola.

half a century ago, when he won his first laurels in that kingdom of Naples, to which he now returned, an old man, called by a strange destiny to build a monumental record of the overthrow of the house, and the extinction of the race, of his early friend and patron.

Last work of Niccola Pisano.

In the year 1274, Niccola Pisano went to Perugia to design a fountain for the piazza. He did not, however, reside there during the time necessary for its construction; but after planning out its details returned to Pisa, whence he sent the statuettes which he had undertaken to make for the upper basin to his son Giovanni, who remained at Perugia to superintend the work, and sculpture the bas-reliefs about the lower basin. In the upper of these basins, stands a column supporting a bronze tazza, from which rises another column with nymphs round its base and griffins and lions upon its summit.[1] The twenty-four statuettes attributed to Niccola, which are set against pilasters, are simply designed, broadly draped figures, the best of which represent Melchisedec, SS. Peter, Paul, and John, and the Catholic Church. The fifty bas-reliefs sculptured by Giovanni Pisano represent the months, the signs of the zodiac, the trivium and quadrivium,[2] prophets, apostles, emperors, and kings, some of Æsop's fables, and various heraldic devices. Proud of their beautiful fountain, the magistrates enacted severe laws for its preservation, in which it is mentioned as the most valuable possession of the city, and as unique not only in Italy but in the world;[3] encomiums which, even in its present state of decay, seem little exaggerated.

A.D. 1278. Death of Niccola Pisano.

While still engaged upon it, Giovanni, hearing of the dangerous illness of his father, left Perugia for Pisa; but, being detained in

[1] Cast by a Maestro Rossi, in 1277; probably the same artist who, fourteen years earlier, made the ball of the cupola of the Duomo at Siena.

[2] The Trivium, in the Middle Ages, was a course of elementary instruction in Grammar, Dialectics, and Rhetoric; the Quadrivium, in Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy.

[3] Vermiglioli, *op. cit.* preface.

Florence ('per forza,' says Vasari) to build some mills on the Arno, did not reach home until after Niccola's death.

Estimate of his career.

Inestimable were the services rendered to art by this great man. He gave the deathblow to Byzantinism and barbarism; established new architectural principles; founded a new school of sculpture in Italy, and opened men's eyes to the degraded state of art by showing them where to study, and how to study; so that Cimabue, Guido di Siena, the Massuccios and the Cosimati, all profited by his pervading and enduring influence.[1] Never hurried by an ill-regulated imagination into extravagances, he was careful in selecting his objects of study, and his methods of self-cultivation; an indefatigable worker, who spared neither time nor strength in obedience to the numerous calls made upon him from all parts of the peninsula; now in Pisa, then in Naples, Padua, Siena, Lucca, or Florence; here to design a church, there to model a bas-relief, erect a pulpit, a palace or a tower; by turns architect and sculptor, great in both, original in both, a reviver in both, laying deep and well the foundations of his edifices by hitherto unpractised methods,[2] and sculpturing his bas-reliefs upon principles evolved from the study of antique models long unheeded. Ever respected and esteemed by the many persons of all classes with whom he came in contact, he was truly a great man, one to whom the world owes an eternal debt of gratitude, and who looms up in gigantic proportions through the mist of five centuries, holding the same relation to Italian art which Dante holds to Italian literature.

[1] 'Neither Dante, nor Shakspeare,' says Lord Lindsay, 'can boast of such extent and durability of influence, for whatever of highest excellence has been attained in sculpture or painting, not only in Italy, but throughout Europe, has been in obedience to the impulse which he primarily gave, and in following up the principles which he first struck out (*Christian Art*, vol. ii. p. 101).

[2] 'E fù il primo, essendosi smarrito il buon modo di fabbricare, che mise in uso fondar gli edifizi a Pisa in sù i pilastri,' etc. etc. (Vasari, vol. i. p. 262).

CHRONOLOGY.

	A.D.
Niccola Pisano—	
Born between	1205—1207
Appointed architect to Frederic II.	1220
Completes Castles Capuano and Dell' Ovo; leaves Naples.	1231
Goes to Padua to design the Basilica di S. Antonio	1231
Bas-relief over the door of the Duomo at Lucca	1237
Overthrow of the Guardamorto Tower and statuettes upon the Bigallo, at Florence	1248
Various churches rebuilt or enlarged	1237—1260
Pulpit in the Baptistry at Pisa	1260
Arca di S. Domenico at Bologna	1265—1267
Pulpit for the Duomo at Siena	1266—
Abbey at La Scorgola	1269
Fountain at Perugia	1274
Dies at Pisa	1278
Frà Guglielmo Agnelli—	
Born at Pisa	1238
Worked with Niccola Pisano at Bologna	1265—1267
Façade of San Michele; unfinished pulpit and bas-reliefs in Duomo at Pisa; rebuilds Convent of St. Catherine —completed	1272
Works at Orvieto	1293
Dies at Pisa	1314 (?)

Allegorical Figures from the Fountain at Perugia.

CHAPTER II.

THE SCHOLARS OF NICCOLA PISANO.

NICCOLA PISANO had six scholars, all of whom (excepting Frà Guglielmo Agnelli) worked with him at Siena upon the pulpit, and by their joint influence caused great progress in architecture and sculpture to be made there during the first half of the fourteenth century. They were his son Giovanni, born at Pisa about 1240; Frà Guglielmo Agnelli, of whose life and works we have spoken in the preceding chapter; Arnolfo del Cambio, one of the most illustrious of Italian artists; and three other Florentines, Lapo, Donato di Ricevato, and Goro di Ciuccio Ciuti.[1] Niccola's scholars. A.D. 1266.

Giovanni Pisano, who had inherited no small portion of his father's genius, differed so completely from him in style, that we are inclined to think he must have early fallen under some foreign influence, which planted in him a preference for Gothic, rather than Romanesque architecture, and gave him a taste for that fantastic action and exaggerated expression which we notice Giovanni Pisano.

[1] We know nothing of Donato, Lapo, and Goro, but that they were made citizens of Siena (Milanesi, *Doc. II.* vol. i. p. 153), and settled with their families in that city A.D. 1271—72. Concerning a monument, perhaps by Lapo, see Appendix to this chapter, letter A. In 1277 Donato was superintendent of the Ponte di Fojano. Goro (in 1311) had three sons, Neri, Ambrogio, and Goro, all sculptors and architects, who built the Fonte di Follonica in 1306. Lapo was architect of the barracks at S. Angelo in Colle in 1281, and in 1289 capo maestro of the expedition sent to destroy the possessions of the Cacciaconti (Milanesi, *Doc. II.* vol. i. p. 154, note).

in his sculptures. The contract for the pulpit at Siena proves that when it was made he was an independent maestro and an artist of repute, since his cooperation is spoken of as a matter to be decided by him, and not by his father,[1] while that of his pupils is promised by Niccola at a fixed salary. Having accepted the invitation, he spent the better part of two years at Siena, and
A.D. 1268. then went to Naples, where he built a church for the Franciscans (as a substitute for that of Santa Maria Nuova, which had been pulled down by Charles of Anjou) and designed the episcopal palace.[2] After leaving Naples, he spent several years at Perugia in constructing the fountain of the piazza according to his
A.D. 1274. father's designs, and in carving the fifty-two bas-reliefs around its upper basin, in a broad and simple style, very unlike that which he afterwards adopted. Hardly were these completed, when he
A.D. 1278. was summoned to Pisa by his dying father; and as he received a very cordial welcome from his fellow-citizens, who pressed him to remain among them, he determined to do so, and soon found himself busily employed upon various important com-
His works at Pisa. missions. Among these was the enlargement of the oratory of Santa Maria del Porto, which, having been lately endowed by a Pisan merchant with a thorn from our Lord's crown, could not accommodate the devotees attracted by so precious a relic. This oratory, transformed by Giovanni into a Gothic
Sta. Maria della Spina. church, and thenceforward called Santa Maria della Spina, was the first edifice built in Italy in the Pointed style; and as it forms a singular exception to the prevailing Romanesque, many writers have supposed it to have been designed by some wandering

[1] 'Si Johannes filius . . . . in prædicto opere laborare voluerit' (Milanesi, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 148).

[2] Vasari gives 1283 as the date of Giovanni's visit to Naples; an error corrected by Signorelli. Another Tuscan architect, named Maglione, built S. Lorenzo in 1267. From this Tuscan influence sprang Masuccio I., the Neapolitan Niccola Pisano. The episcopal palace at Rieti has been attributed to Niccola, but it was more probably designed by Giovanni, who may have gone there after leaving Naples.

German.[1] The honour of having done so is worth disputing, as, although somewhat overloaded in ornament, it is a little gem in its way, and looks like a casket set by the river-side, to contain some precious object.

The use of public cemeteries: why introduced.

During early Christian times it was customary to bury the dead in churches, which thence obtained the name of 'Cœmiteria.'[2] Sepulture was afterwards restricted to their porticoes, by decrees of the early councils; but this also was given up as likely to breed pestilence, and public cemeteries apart from the dwellings of men were used first in France, and then in other parts of Europe. Their introduction into Italy was projected by Archbishop Ubaldo Lanfranchi, who with this intent brought a shipload of earth from Mount Calvary to Pisa, which he caused to be spread out in the shape of a parallelogram, according to the traditional dimensions of Noah's ark;[3] to which was subsequently added the contents of fifty Pisan galleys which returned from the crusade undertaken by Frederic Barbarossa, freighted with the sacred earth. A century later, Giovanni Pisano, having been appointed to enclose the space with walls, designed and built the first, as well as the most beautiful, Campo Santo in Italy. Following the ground-plan marked out by Archbishop Lanfranchi, Giovanni raised his outer walls without windows, and with only two doors looking

A.D. 1108.

A.D. 1178.

A.D. 1278.

The Campo Santo at Pisa.

[1] Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 264. Such an one was Rodolpho, called Il Tedesco, mentioned in the Sienese archives, 1258—59.

[2] Bingham (*Origines*, etc., part iii. p. 129) states that the word Cœmiterium is equivalent to Church; and, according to an inscription, cited by Cardinal St. Borgia (*Confess. Vat. B. Petri*, p. 139), the Basilica of St. Paul's was so called (Ricci, *St. dell' Arch.* vol. i. p. 24). Eusebius, Chrysostom, and other Church Fathers, also called them τάφοι, graves. In the Constantinian Basilicas the Saints were buried in the crypt, or confession (E. Förster, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst*, part i. p. 7, Introduction. Ed. Leipsic, 1861). Rome was one of the last cities that abandoned the custom of burying the dead in the atria of the churches. In the ninth century they were buried inside the church. Florence continued the old practice even later than Rome. Vide Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 312, 344, note 15.

[3] Tronci, *Annali Pisani*, vol. ii. p. 75.

towards the Duomo, that the frescoes, with which they were to be covered on the inside, might be protected as far as possible from the injurious effect of the salt and damp sea-winds. Between these outer walls, which he decorated with arches and pilasters, and the inner, directly contiguous to the quadrangle, he made a brood-roofed corridor paved with marble, lighted by Gothic windows[1] and four open doorways, through which are now obtained constantly recurring glimpses of the graves, the solemn cypresses, and the ever-blooming roses of this 'God's acre.' Nothing could be better adapted to its purpose than the building thus constructed, which, completely shutting out the world, compels the eye to rest upon objects suggestive of death and eternity.

This effect was immeasurably heightened after Giovanni's day by the series of impressive frescoes with which Giotto, Gozzoli, Orcagna, and other eminent Tuscan painters adorned its walls, as well as by the antique sarcophagi, and modern marbles of a sacred character, which were ranged on either side of its corridors, many of which being by Giovanni Pisano, we can study him in his Campo Santo as sculptor and architect. In criticising one of these, the Pisa (Plate III.), which is interesting as being, perhaps, the first large statue made in Italy since the time of Constantine, it should be taken into consideration, that in such a work immense and untried difficulties presented themselves to a sculptor accustomed to treat sculpture as an architectural accessory. This statue represents the city of Pisa as a crowned and draped woman, holding two diminutive children at her breasts, as emblems of her fertility, and girdled with a cord seven times knotted, in token of her dominion over the seven islands of Corsica, Sardinia, Elba, Pianosa, Capraja, Giglio and Gorgona. She stands upon a pedestal, which

Allegorical statue of Pisa.

[1] The late Italian Gothic tracery of these windows, and other ornaments in the same style, were added at a much later date (Ciampi, *Belli Arredi*, p. 44).

ALLEGORICAL STATUE OF

PISA.

in the Campo Santo.

is supported at the four corners by figures of Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice (the guiding principles of her government), between which eagles are sculptured, in allusion to her Roman origin.[1] It would be hard to find anything more original than this strange work, whose ugliness is somewhat redeemed by an intensity of expression which arrests the attention, and the dramatic turn of the head of the principal figure, whose sly glance seems on the watch for some strange coming. Excepting the nude figure of Temperance, whose classically knotted hair, and pose not unlike that of a Greek Venus, recals the antique, the whole work is German in character, and as good an example of Giovanni's peculiarities as could be selected. Among the other marbles by him in this collection, we may mention an Apostolic-looking figure with scales in its right hand, standing upon a base sculptured with reliefs of Philosophy and the seven sciences; an excellent statuette of St. Peter, which formerly stood upon a holy-water vase in the Baptistry, and three female figures, clustered round the shaft of a column, which formed part of a now destroyed pulpit,[2] six of whose bas-reliefs are in an upper corridor over the left transept of the Duomo. These reliefs, whose inferiority may be accounted for by the advanced age at which Giovanni sculptured them, represent the Birth of Christ and its Announcement by an Angel to the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi; the Presentation, with the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Betrayal, with the Crucifixion.

Other marbles by Giovanni in the Campo Santo.

After completing the Campo Santo, Giovanni went to Siena, where he was appointed, as his father had been before him, to build the façade of the Duomo.[3] Hoping to induce him to settle in their city, the magistrates made him a citizen, exempted him from taxes for life, and, 'in order that he might continue to work

A.D. 1286. Giovanni at Siena.

[1] Roncioni, *Arch. St. It.* vol. vi. part i. p. 3.

[2] Made for the Duomo in 1311.

[3] This church existed A.D. 947, under the name of Santa Maria Assunta. It was enlarged in 1089, and consecrated by Alexander II. in 1179.

without hindrance,' absolved him from certain penalties to which he had for some unknown reason subjected himself.[1]

Façade of the Duomo. A.D. 1286—1289.

It is impossible to say exactly, how far this work advanced under Giovanni's direction, during the three years of his residence at Siena, although it is clear that the façade as it now exists is a modification of his original design by the architects who, after a considerable interval, succeeded him, and completed it in the next century. We can, however, safely ascribe its general features to Giovanni, since we trace in its combination of styles the influence of his father upon him, and see among the statues upon it some, which, like the Virgin on the end towards the campanile, if not his, must be by a sculptor bred in his school. Want of clearness, and a decidedly overloaded effect, produced by the parti-coloured marbles, the profusion of statues and bas-reliefs, mosaics, lions, horses and griffins,[2] which cover every part of its surface, make it inferior to that of the Duomo at Orvieto, which belongs to about the same period, but, with all its defects, it is a splendid work, and one of the most striking examples of the growing influence of the great French and German cathedrals upon Italian taste.

A.D. 1317.

When, notwithstanding the many inducements held out to him to remain there,[3] Giovanni left Siena, he entered upon a new phase of his life, for whereas up to this time he had been principally occupied as an architect, he henceforward devoted himself almost exclusively to sculpture. While we follow him in the apparently tranquil course of his life, we shall do well to remember the tumultuous state of the times in which he lived, that we may fully realise how the innate artistic strength of the Italian asserted its vitality despite all opposing influences.

A.D. 1289.

Tumultuous state of the times.

[1] Milanesi, *Doc. San.* vol. i. p. 162.

[2] The lions, horses and griffins are the emblems of Arezzo and Perugia, over whose troops the Sienese had been victorious (Ricci, vol. ii. pp. 74, 75).

[3] The works were suspended after his departure, and not resumed until the year 1317.

If Art had been less exclusively the servant of Religion in the fourteenth century, the ever-surging feuds would have checked its growth; but the artist of that period was a recluse, who pursued his occupations, which were seldom secular, without disturbance, and if forced to leave his seclusion to serve emperor or municipality, found ample protection during such term of service, and then went back to carve the altar or the monument, in some quiet church or cloister, undisturbed by the popular strife which, like the sea, dashed in mighty waves against its peaceful walls. Giovanni's history is an example of this; for wherever he laboured, the great struggle between the people and their rulers was going on. At Naples he found Charles of Anjou fighting against the Sicilians; at Siena, the people carrying on war with Florence; at Pisa, struggling against native tyrants and carrying on hostilities with the Genoese; while at Arezzo, the Ghibelline exiles and their partisans were preparing for that battle in the plain of Campaldino,[1] in which his patron Bishop Ubertini was killed; and at Pistoja, the Bianchi and Neri were fighting against each other with a hatred which rivalled that of the Ghibellines and Guelphs to whom they succeeded. A.D. 1287.

From Siena, Giovanni went to Perugia to make the monument of Pope Urban IV.,[2] and thence to Arezzo, where Bishop Ubertini had commissioned him to sculpture the shrine of San Donato for the cathedral. During the persecution of the Christians under Julian the Apostate, San Donato fled from Rome to Arezzo, of which he became bishop, and after his death patron saint. As he stood one day, according to the legend, before the altar, with a sacramental cup in his hand, some rude Pagans attacked him and

M. A.D. 1264. The shrine of San Donato.

A.D. 361—363.

[1] June 11, A.D. 1289. This battle was fought between the Ghibelline exiles, aided by the Aretines, and the Guelphs of Florence (who conquered them), in whose ranks Dante fought.

[2] This monument was destroyed when the Duomo was enlarged. It was made, at the public expense, of the finest marbles; but we know nothing of its design (Vasari, vol. i. p. 269, note 1).

shattered it to fragments, which he miraculously reunited, without losing a drop of its contents. Transported with fury at this sight, the aggressors seized the unoffending prelate and hurried him away to death. The Gothic shrine which Giovanni Pisano designed and sculptured in honour of this martyr is oblong in shape, and richly adorned with statuettes, leaves, arabesques, intaglios, enamels and bas-reliefs. Above the altar, which occupies the front of the shrine, and beneath a canopy supported by angels, sits the Madonna, smiling tenderly (with an expression of affection quite different from the generally adopted Pisan type) upon the Infant Saviour, whose head rests upon her shoulder. On either side of this really pleasing group are statuettes of SS. Donato and Gregory,[1] and in the gables above, three reliefs, representing the Marriage of the Virgin, the Annunciation, and the Assumption. The most striking among the numerous bas-reliefs with which the three other sides of the shrine are covered, is that in which the saint's body lies stretched upon a funeral couch, surrounded by his devoted and deeply grieving followers, one of whom leans over to lift the lifeless hand so often raised in blessing or in prayer, while the rest are kneeling in supplication. Around the top of the shrine runs a row of Gothic arches (filled in with half-figures of prophets and apostles), which are invaluable as giving an effect of lightness to the massive structure. This superb work of art, including enamels, some silver bas-reliefs, and jewels hung around the Madonna's neck, cost no less than 30,000 florins.

Pulpit by Il Tedesco at Pistoja.

About this time, a sculptor known as 'Il Tedesco,' probably a native of that part of Lombardy which borders upon the Tyrol,[2] had made a pulpit for the church of San Giovanni f. c. at Pistoja,

[1] This statuette is a portrait of Pope Honorius IV., M. A.D. 1287. The shrine is engraved in the Life of Gregory X., Rome, 1711 (Morrona, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 77, 78; Vasari, vol. i.).

[2] The inhabitants of this district were called 'Tedeschi,' to distinguish them from the Lombards proper, who dwelt in the plains.

whose bas-reliefs were greatly admired for general correctness of drawing, and good arrangement of draperies, though they were confessedly wanting in that sentiment and variety of expression conspicuous in the Pisan school. Feeling this, and participating in the reverence entertained by the citizens of Pistoja for the memory of Niccola Pisano, a Spanish priest urged that the commission for a marble pulpit then about to be erected in the church of San Andrea, should be given to Giovanni Pisano, whose reputation warranted the belief, which he fully verified, that he would produce a work in every way superior to that by Il Tedesco. The commission was accordingly given to Giovanni, with full liberty as to the subjects to be selected for its bas-reliefs and ornamental details, although he was obliged to conform himself in its general design to that of the pulpits at Siena and Pisa, which, it was felt, could not be improved. A.D. 1300.

Taking the Pisan pulpit for his architectural model, as better suited in size to the dimensions of San Andrea, Giovanni filled its five panels with reliefs representing the Birth of Christ, the Adoration, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment. One of these, the Massacre, we consider Giovanni's masterpiece; nay, more, we feel inclined to set it down as one of the most dramatic and forcible representations of this painful and revolting subject, to be found in Italian art. Rare powers of conception and a dramatic feeling, which Niccola wanted, are shown in the sullen satisfaction with which Herod looks down upon the rush of maddened soldiers, despairing mothers, and shrieking infants, as well as in the figure of the woman who sits upon the ground, bowed in silent grief over the dead body of her child, and of her who yet struggles, in the agony of despair, to save her darling from a like fate. These same qualities shine out in the relief of the Crucifixion, which contains an admirable group of women at the foot of the cross. Elsewhere, as for example in the Inferno, the compositions are overcrowded, and consequently confused; a fault into which Giovanni's pulpit at S. Andrea.

both father and son often fell, from a want of judgment as to the capacities afforded for representation by pulpit and shrine panels.[1] (See a statuette from this pulpit—tailpiece.)

Other works at Pistoja.

While residing at Pistoja, Giovanni also made a holy-water vase, supported by the now mutilated figures of Temperance, Prudence, and Justice, for the church of San Giovanni; designed the campanile of San Jacopo, and the door of San Paolo; and restored several churches and convents both at Pistoja and Prato. These

He goes to Florence.

labours ended, he turned his steps to Florence, desirous of seeing his old friend and fellow-scholar, Arnolfo del Cambio, then in the zenith of his reputation, and the young Giotto, whose praises were in every mouth. The city of Florence, which, forty years before, (when the courageous opposition of Farinata degli Uberti saved her from destruction by the Ghibellines,)[2] trembled on the brink of ruin, was now increasing in strength and wealth; she had raised a large army, and for the third time girdled herself with walls, then nearly completed, within which Arnolfo and Giotto had built and decorated many beautiful churches and palaces.[3] Filled with admiration for these two great native artists, the Florentines seem to have been disinclined to commit any works of importance to a foreigner; and thus Giovanni Pisano, instead of finding among them the patronage which his reputation warranted him to expect, received but one order during the two years which he spent among them, namely, that for the Madonna and Adoring Angels which fill a lunette over one of the side-doors of the Duomo, then in process of erection by Arnolfo. The

[1] The words of the inscription, 'Johannis Nicholi natus sentia [*sic*] meliore beatus,' appear to indicate that, in the opinion of the Pistojans, Giovanni had surpassed his father (Ciampi, *op. cit.*).

[2] After the battle of Montaperti, 'che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso,' in which Farinata, chief of the Florentine Ghibellines, defeated the Guelphs, the victors proposed at Empoli to destroy Florence, which project they would have carried into execution if Farinata had not opposed it with indomitable firmness.

[3] Macchiavelli, *Hist. of Florence*, book ii. ch. iii.

Madonna is Pisan in type, and somewhat stiff in attitude; the angels are well conceived and pleasing.

These first years of the fourteenth century, which our artist spent at Pistoja and Florence, were marked by the humiliation and death of Pope Boniface VIII., who had renewed the ancient struggle between the papacy and the Empire. Instead of Frederic II., the aggressor was now Philip le Bel of France, who, unlike his prototype, came off victor in the contest, and ultimately succeeded in removing the seat of the papal government from Rome to A.D. 1305. Avignon. His intrigues were baffled for a short time by the rapid action of the cardinals, who immediately after the death of Boniface, replaced him by the Cardinal Niccola di Treviso, under the name of Benedict XI.; he, yielding at first to the king, Pope Benedict revoked the decrees of his predecessor against Philip, his coun- XI. cillors, and the Gallican Church, but when the king demanded that Boniface (or Maleface, as he contemptuously called him) should be declared a heretic, he changed his ground, and excommunicated all those who had been concerned against the late pope at Anagni. From that moment his fate was sealed; and one month later he died at Perugia, after eating a basket of poisoned figs, His death. administered to him, it is said, by one of the cardinals at the instigation of Philip le Bel. The nine months' session of the Sacred College, which followed, gave the unscrupulous King of France time to prepare his plans for getting the papacy into his power, in carrying out which, one of his chief agents was the Cardinal Aquasparta, of Prato, who five years before had been sent to Florence as legate by Boniface, to endeavour to appease the quarrels between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, then lately revived by the Bianchi and Neri.[1] Through the timely advice of this cardinal, Philip was enabled to secure the election of Bertrand de Got,[2] a French cardinal, and one of his creatures, who was crowned at Lyons as Pope Clement V.

[1] F. Villani, *op. cit.* lib. viii. ch. xxxix. p. 371.

[2] Matteo di Orsini, leader of the Italian faction, on hearing of this election,

It was during the session of the Sacred College at Perugia, that Giovanni Pisano was invited by the before-mentioned Cardinal Aquasparta to make the monument of the late pope, which still stands in the church of S. Domenico. Upon a base of considerable height, and protected by a lofty Gothic canopy, sustained by twisted columns, richly inlaid with mosaic, into whose spirals diminutive figures are fantastically introduced, stands the sarcophagus upon which lies the effigy of the pontiff (see Plate IV.), at whose head and feet stand angels holding back curtains, and looking down upon it with a mingled expression of surprise and sorrow. This striking and novel monumental feature, which we shall henceforth meet with in many Pisan tombs, if an error, which we hardly think it to have been, was 'an error so full of feeling, as to be sometimes all but redeemed and altogether forgiven,' and none the less lovely because the scholars of the Pisani caricatured it, and turned the quiet curtained canopy into a huge marble tent with a pole in the centre of it.'[1]

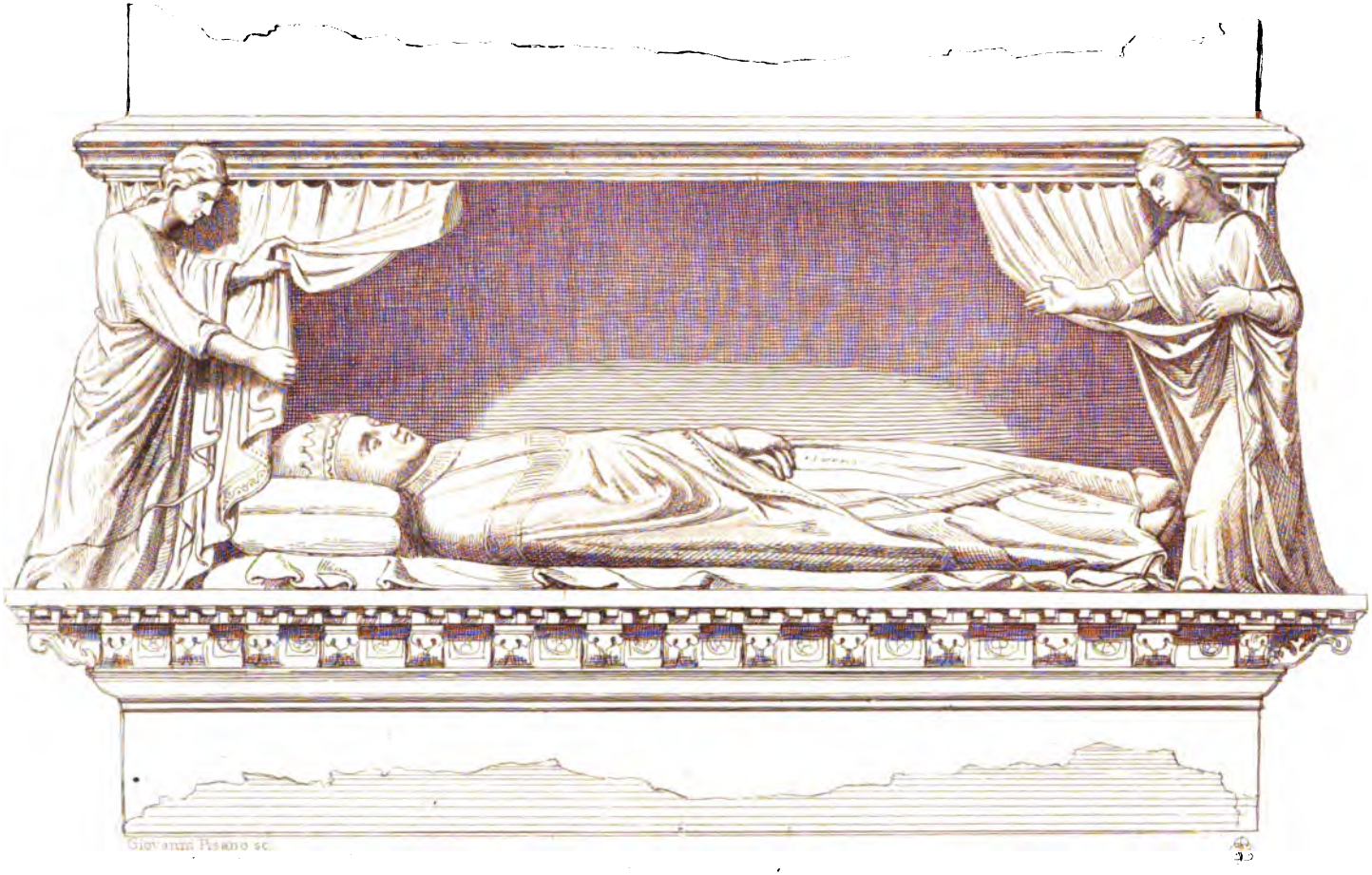
Nov. 14, 1305. Giovanni deputed to make the pope's monument. Its design.

The honour of having first conceived it belongs to Arnolfo del Cambio, if (as is supposed) he made the tomb of Cardinal de Braye at Ovieto, within twenty years after that prelate's death; while Giovanni deserves praise only for quick appreciation and adoption of the idea, which he again used in the very impressive monument of St. Margaret, in the sacristy of her church at Cortona, whose general arrangement resembles that of Pope Benedict. Upon the sarcophagus lies the effigy of the saint with her hands clasped beneath her robe; at her feet crouches the faithful dog who guided her to the bleeding body of her murdered lover, the sight of which (though tempted by a demon to resume her former evil courses) so changed her, that she determined to

Tomb of St. Margaret at Cortona.

said prophetically to Cardinal del Prato, head of the French party: 'Vous voilà donc venu à vos fins; vous nous menez au delà les monts. L'Italie ne reverra de longtemps le Saint Siège' (H. Martin, *op. cit.* vol. iv. p. 460).

[1] *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. p. 209.



FROM THE TOMB OF

POPE BENEDICT XI.

in S Domenico at Perugia

spend the remainder of her days in penitence and prayer.[1] On the front of the sarcophagus are bas-reliefs representing the Magdalen washing our Saviour's feet, and the raising of Lazarus; while below, between the consoles, St. Margaret is represented taking the penitential habit, and giving up her soul to angels, who bear it to heaven.

The latter years of Giovanni's life were spent in rebuilding the Duomo at Prato, a work which was undertaken in consequence of the self-deliverance of the Virgin's girdle from the hands of a sacrilegious thief; and although not finished when he died, it was afterwards completed in strict accordance with his designs. A.D. 1312.

Among his works of uncertain date, are an ivory Madonna and Child, in the sacristy of the Duomo at Pisa[2] (see Tail-Piece), a holy-water vase in the right transept of the same church, and another in the church of San Pietro, at San Piero, near Pisa; in the last he was assisted by his otherwise unknown scholar Lionardo. His other scholars were his son Bernardo,[3] an architect, and at one time capo maestro of the Duomo at Pisa; Andrea Pisano, one of the greatest of Italian sculptors; the Sienese artists Agostino di Giovanni, Agnolo di Ventura, Tino di Camaino, Ciolo di Ventura; and, perhaps, Jacopo di Matteo da Pistoja, who worked with him upon the Campo Santo of Pisa, and sculptured a figure of St. Paul which stands over the door of the church of St. Paolo at Pistoja.[4] His scholars. A.D. 1301.

[1] *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, p. 330. The head is evidently a restoration.

[2] Ciampi, *op. cit.* Doc. iii. p. 128.

[3] 1299–1303. Ciampi, *op. cit.*

[4] Sacchetti, *Novella*, p. 229. Sacchetti states, that Alberto Arnoldi, the sculptor, recommended Jacopo di Pistoja to make a monument for Messer Aldighieri degli Asinacci in the church of San Antonio at Parma. His *Novella* relates the tricks which Jacopo played upon his room-mate, a priest, whom he wished to get rid of: after sending him two or three times to Carrara after an imaginary 'innamorata,' whom he painted as dying of love for him, he (Jacopo) put a stuffed serpent into his (the priest's) bed, which so frightened him that he took to his heels and never returned.

We cannot take leave of Giovanni without referring to the assertion of Vasari, that he and his father both worked upon the bas-reliefs of the façade of the cathedral at Orvieto. In regard to Niccola, this is chronologically impossible, as he died about twelve years before the building was begun. Giovanni may have done so (though Padre della Valle tells us that he searched in vain for his name among those of the sculptors registered in the Orvietan archives), but the superiority of the best, and the inferiority of the worst, to his known works, inclines us to doubt it;[1] neither can we believe, that he sculptured the monument of Enrico
A.D. 1320. Scrovegno in the Arena Chapel at Padua,[2] as he died in the same year with Scrovegno.

Giovanni Pisano has not been generally recognised as the first Italian architect who consistently employed Gothic forms, although all his buildings and monuments are Gothic, or contain a large admixture of Gothic elements, with the exception of the Campo Santo, whose Romanesque character was in some measure induced by its proximity to the Duomo and Baptistry. In estimating him as a sculptor, we must acknowledge, that while his style is original and dramatic, it shows no feeling for beauty, and is without that dignity and repose which give so much value to the works of his father.

A grave-slab[3] in the front of the archiepiscopal palace at Siena, which was made twenty years before Giovanni's death, proves,
A.D. 1320. that he intended to be buried at Siena; but as he died at Pisa, and his fellow-citizens were naturally disinclined to carry out this intention, they laid him to rest in the same sarcophagus with his father. We do not know which of the sarcophagi in the Campo

[1] See Chapter IV.

[2] The name of 'Jacobi Magistri Rieti' is inscribed under one of the angels; but as the style of the work is Pisan, and the sarcophagus better than the statues, it may be by another hand (Selvatico, *Sulla Capella degli Scrovegni*, p. 18. Padua, 1836).

[3] Inscribed, 'Hoc est sepulcrum Magistri Johannis, quondam Magistri Nicola et de ejus heredibus (*sic*).'

Santo this was, nor can we point out any memorial at Pisa of these two eminent artists, except the tablet set up in the Campo Santo by the late curator Lasinio, which bears the following inscription—

In memoriam Niccolæ Pisani et Johannis fili
Sculpturæ artis restitutorum.
Heu! principe Pisanis artifices
Hic jacerent sine titulo.

Arnolfo del Cambio. N. 1232.

That genius of a high order is not always early developed, is shown in the case of Arnolfo del Cambio, who, eight years older than his fellow-scholar Giovanni, worked as an apprentice under Niccola Pisano at Siena, when Giovanni had already won for himself a name. Born at Colle in the Val d'Elsa in the year 1232,[1] he was at that time thirty-four years old, nor is it till ten years later that we find proof of his being settled as an independent maestro at Naples, in a letter written by the magistrates of Perugia A.D. 1277. requesting Charles of Anjou to allow his architect Arnolfo to assist in building the fountain of the piazza at Perugia. To this letter the king returned a gracious answer, giving the required permission, and promising to send with him a present of marbles to be used in the construction of the fountain, but whether Arnolfo went is uncertain, as his name is not found with those of Niccola and Giovanni upon the fountain, and as the municipal records of the time, which would have settled the question, are unfortunately missing.[2]

Tomb of Cardinal de Braye. Died 1280.

It was probably three or four years after the date of this letter, that he sculptured the tomb of Cardinal Guillaume de Braye, for the church of S. Domenico at Orvieto. The recumbent statue of the cardinal, watched over by angels, with a touching and eager expression of sorrow, lies above a double basement, which

[1] His parents were Cambio and Perfetta. Perfetta is mentioned in a Mortuario of the Florentine Duomo as Mater Magistri Arnolphi (Vasari, vol. i. p. 249, note 4; *Kunstblatt*, no. 64, A.D. 1839, Article by Gaye, on Promis).

[2] Vermiglioli (*op. cit.* p. 32) suggests that Arnolfo may have made the SS. Peter and Paul of the first basin.

is adorned with mosaics disposed in geometrical patterns ('a stella'), and divided into niches separated by twisted columns, also inlaid with mosaic. Above the prelate's statue sits a very dignified Madonna (Plate V.) under a Gothic tabernacle, wearing a crown upon her head, from beneath which a veil falls upon her shoulders. Her left hand supports the Divine Child upon her knee, and her right rests upon the ball, which terminates the arm of her throne-chair, on either side of which are statuettes of St. Dominic and a companion saint, in the act of presenting to her the kneeling Cardinal de Braye. This monument is one of the most finished works of the Pisan school. It contains one strikingly original idea, and many exquisite details, and though his only well-authenticated sculptural work, is enough to establish Arnolfo's fame. Some writers suppose, that he made at this time the very beautiful Gothic tabernacle at San Paolo f. m. at Rome, which still stands there, sole relic of the glories of the old Basilica[1] amid the cold splendours of the new; while on the other hand authorities of equal weight deny this, on the ground that he could not then have left Florence, owing to his great and pressing occupations. In view of Arnolfo's wide-spread reputation, and the inscription upon the tabernacle,[2]

A.D. 1285. Tabernacle at St. Paolo.

Hoc opus fecit Arnolfus cum suo socio Petro,

---

[1] It was destroyed by fire in 1825.

[2] Inscription—

'Anno milleno centum bis et octuageno
Quinto summe Ds. qd. hic abbas Bartholomæus
Fecit op. fieri sibi tu dignare mereri.
Hoc opus fecit Arnolfus——cum suo socio Petro.'

An Abbot Bartholomew ruled over the Convent of St. Paul's from 1282–1297 (*Neue Römische Briefe*, vol. i. p. 99). The following authors believe Arnolpho del Cambio to have made or designed this tabernacle: Gaye, *Kunstblatt*, no. 64, 1839; Rumohr, *It. Forsch.* vol. ii. p. 156; Cicognari, *St. della Scultura*, vol. iii. p. 265; and C. Boito, *Arch. Cosmatesca*, p. 29; while Promis (*Ant. Mar. Rom.* pp. 28, 29) doubts it, as does Reumont (*Neue Röm. Br.* vol. i. p. 102). Vasari and Baldinucci make no mention of it.

MADONNA DI ARNOLFO.

S. Domenico di Orvieto.

we are inclined to believe, that having been requested by Bartolomeo, abbot of the adjoining convent, to furnish him with a design, he made it at Florence and sent his scholar Pietro Cavallini to execute it. Could this be proved, it would give to Arnolfo the glory of having introduced a Gothic taste into the Roman school, then represented by Adeodatus and Giovanni Cosmati, who thenceforward gave up the round arch and horizontal line, and imitated the model set before them.[1] The statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul, Luke and Benedict, placed above the capitals of the columns which support the canopy, being very much in the Tuscan manner, and the whole structure decidedly superior in design and workmanship to known Cosmatesque works, further authorise the belief that it is not a work of their school. In the same manner, Arnolfo perhaps sent designs for the tomb of Pope Boniface VIII.[2] now in the crypt of St. Peter's, and for the altar of St. Boniface, and the tomb of Pope Honorius III. which stood in a now destroyed chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore, all of which are attributed to him by Vasari.

Works attributed to Arnolfo at Rome.

To comprehend what Arnolfo did for Florence, we have but to look down upon that fair city from one of the neighbouring eminences, and note that all the most striking objects which greet the eye, the Duomo, the Palazzo Vecchio, Sta. Croce, Or San Michele, and the walls which surround her, are his works. A portion of the ground upon which Sta. Croce, the first of these great edifices, stands, was occupied by a small church, which the Minorite Friars had long intended to enlarge and embellish as soon as their means would permit. This being now possible, the corner-stone of the new edifice was laid 'in the presence of many

Sta. Croce.

A.D. 1294 or 1295.

[1] As in the tabernacle at S. Cecilia. Ugoni (*Hist. delle Stazione di Roma*, p. 130) says this was also inscribed, 'Hoc opus fecit Arnolphus 1283;' but no such inscription exists at present.

[2] Torrigio (*Grotte Vaticane*, p. 371) attributes this tomb to Frà Giacomo da Turrita, the mosaicist, as does his biographer, the Abbate de Angelis (p. 24). Vasari assigns it, with the works mentioned in the text, to Arnolfo (vol. i. p. 244, note 3).

bishops, prelates, canons and monks, the podesta, the captain-general, the priors, and all the good people of Florence, both men and women, with great rejoicing and solemnity.'[1] More than a century elapsed before its completion, but during this long period its successive architects carefully followed Arnolfo's original design. Within its walls are placed the monuments of some of Italy's greatest sons, Dante, Michael Angelo, Machiavelli, and Alfieri: why is it that Florence has not raised among them, one to the memory of him who designed this Italian Panthcon?

The Duomo at Florence.

Almost simultaneously with Sta. Croce, Arnolfo began to build the Duomo, called Sta. Maria del Fiore, in allusion to the lily in the city arms, which marks the tradition that Florence was founded in a field of flowers. The noble document by which the building of this cathedral was decreed, shows that the city was then governed by a body of men representing all the force and intelligence of the State. 'Since,' it says, 'the highest mark of prudence in a people of noble origin, is to proceed in the management of their affairs so that their magnanimity and wisdom may be evinced in their outward acts, we order Arnolfo, head master of our commune, to make a design for the renovation of Sta. Reparata in a style of magnificence which neither the industry nor power of man can surpass, that it may harmonise with the opinion of many wise persons in this city and state, who think that this commune should not engage in any enterprise, unless its intention be to make the result correspond with that noblest sort of heart which is composed of the united will of many citizens.'[2] The old church of Sta. Reparata, referred to in this document, was rudely built, after the model of a Basilica, in the year 407, to commemorate a victory gained over the Goths by the Florentines. To meet the expenses consequent upon its destruction, and the erection of the new Duomo, the Wool Merchants' Guild, which undertook the

[1] G. Villani, lib. viii. ch. vii. p. 349.

[2] Gualandi, *op. cit.* fourth series, p. 102, note 9.

management of affairs, not only gave large sums out of their own funds, but obtained a decree, by which a tax of four denari in a lira was laid upon all goods exported from the city, and that of two soldi a year upon every member of the population.

Arnolfo is said to have sought to give stability to his cathedral, by making it the result of ingenious geometrical combinations, worked out through the entire building; and to have dug a series of subterranean wells around the entire line of its foundations, through which the elastic gases generated by central fires might freely find vent, in order to obviate danger from earthquakes.[1] Like Santa Croce, this church is built in the shape of a Latin cross with a great nave and two smaller side aisles, two transepts, and two tribunes, out of which open five chapels, and is surmounted by a magnificent cupola, which Arnolfo, had he lived, would have placed directly upon the roof, and thereby greatly diminished the majestic effect which his successor Brunelleschi attained, by raising it upon a drum, pierced with round windows to admit light into the building. It is the most complete example of Arnolfo's style, which, like his master's, was eclectic, though Gothic elements predominated in it. The pointed arch, the buttresses, and the tall windows divided into compartments, he combined with foreign elements, and thus formed an original style called Mediæval Florentine, whose most striking feature, the novel mode of external decoration by incrustation with different-coloured marbles arranged in symmetrical patterns, marks the difference between it and the Gothic, which, practising the honest law, 'that every artifice of construction should be displayed,'[2] gave evidence in its external as in its internal decorations of all that was necessary to the organism of the edifice; while the Florentine, following the

[1] 'Fatto notevole nella fisica d'allora' (Cantu, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 637). Bramante did the same under the pillars which support the cupola of St. Peter's.

[2] Okely on *Christian Architecture in Italy*, quoted from Dr. Whewell's *Notes on German Churches*, Introd. pp. 3, 7.

classical principle, 'that every artifice of construction should be concealed,' gave no indication of the framework of the building or the distribution of its parts in its exterior, whose decoration was but a facing.

Façade of the Duomo.

The façade begun by Arnolfo was pulled down in 1334, and Giotto replaced it by another adorned with columns, niches, and statues, which he carried to above a third of the height of the building,[1] and which more than two centuries later was in its turn destroyed,[2] at the suggestion of Buontalenti, engineer to the Grand Duke Francesco, who asserted that the great superincumbent weight rendered it unsafe. The falseness of this assertion was proved by the difficulty experienced in breaking up what seemed like one piece of marble.[3] Some of the statues upon it were probably not only designed but sculptured by Giotto, who was a sculptor, as well as a painter and architect, as we know through Ghiberti, who says that he saw some of the models which Giotto made for the bas-reliefs upon the lower story of his campanile.[4]

A.D. 1585.

The Palazzo Vecchio. A.D. 1298.

While building Sta. Croce and the Duomo, Arnolfo was appointed by public decree to erect a palace, in which the State officers could reside, safe from the dangers of popular insurrection or the ambitious attempts of the nobles. The result of this commission was the Palazzo Vecchio, the irregularity of whose ground-plan, though long attributed to the refusal of the Guelphs to allow any part of the people's palace to stand upon ground formerly occupied by the Ghibellines, is sufficiently accounted for by the

[1] Engraved by C. Nelli, in his *Desc. del Duomo.* Vide *Opere* di Ferd. Ruggeri, Aggiunta al Vol. IV. parte 1. For list of artists who worked upon this façade, see Appendix to this chapter, letter B.

[2] By Benedetto Uguccione, Provveditore dell' Opera del Duomo.

[3] Rondinelli, *Arti del Disegno*, A.D. 1856, no. 15, p. 132. See a note by Monti, in which he asserts that the columns which were strong enough to bear a maximum weight of 165 lbs. had to bear only 48 lbs.

[4] Vide Ghiberti's *Commentaries*, published in Cicognara, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 210; Vasari, vol. i. p. 333, note 1; and Varchi, who in his *Funeral Oration over Michel Angelo*, p. 45, asserts the same thing.

successive changes and additions which it underwent at the hand of Andrea Pisano in the fourteenth, Michelozzo and Cronaca in the fifteenth, and Vasari in the sixteenth centuries. Arnolfo also built, on the site of an old Lombard church dedicated to St. Michael, an open grain market, or loggia, consisting of brick columns spanned by arches, and roofed over, which, in honour of a representation of the Virgin painted upon one of its pilasters by Ugolino da Siena, was afterwards transformed by Andrea Orcagna into the church of Or San Michele.[1] Besides these great works, he executed many of minor importance, such as covering the Baptistry with slabs of marble, enlarging the circuit of the city walls, and building in the upper Val d'Arno the castles of San Giovanni and Franco, intended to overawe the Ghibelline families of the Pazzi and Uberti.

Or San Michele. A.D. 1284.

A.D. 1292.

Arnolfo did not live[2] to see the completion of any of the great buildings which he designed, and which still constitute the chief architectural ornaments of Florence; neither did he found a school, or firmly establish in other parts of Italy that original style of architecture which he there introduced. The reason of this may lie in the fact, that it was rather a decoration than an architecture; as well as in the persistent predilection for classical forms in Italy, against which the Gothic made but a short stand, and which finally found its full expression in the buildings of the Renaissance. Giotto made exquisite use of the mediæval Florentine style in his campanile, but its further development was checked even in Florence by Orcagna, while other Florentine artists, who worked at Venice and in various parts of Italy, suited themselves to the taste of the locality. Arnolfo had two sons, Guiduccio, and Alberto, who was a sculptor, of whom we know nothing but that,

M. A.D. 1310.

[1] From 'horreum,' a granary, and the name of the Archangel. The picture is said to have first manifested a power of working miracles on July 3, 1292 (*Chr.* of G. Villani).

[2] *Antica Necrologia di Santa Reparata*, carta xii.; Vasari, vol. i. p. 255, note 2.

like their father, they were honoured with the citizenship of Florence.[1] An inscription let into the wall of the cathedral, his portrait introduced by Giotto into a fresco which he painted in Sta. Croce, and a statue placed in our own day side by side with that of Brunelleschi, opposite the cathedral, which the one built, and the other crowned with the second great dome in the world, are the only memorials to one of the most illustrious of Italian artists.

CHRONOLOGY.

	A D.
Giovanni Pisano—	
Born	1240 (circa)
Worked upon the pulpit at Siena	1266—1267
Built Franciscan church and designed the episcopal palace at Naples	1268
Worked upon the fountain at Perugia	1274—1278
Rebuilt Santa Maria della Spina, and built the Campo Santo at Pisa	1278
Statues in the Campo Santo of uncertain date	
Designed and commenced the façade of the Duomo at Siena	1286—1289
Monument of Pope Urban IV. at Perugia	1289
Shrine of San Donato in the Duomo at Arezzo	1290
Pulpit in San Andrea, and holy-water vase in S. Giovanni, at Pistoja	1300
Madonna and Angels over a door of the Duomo at Florence	1301
Pulpit in the Duomo at Pisa	1302—1311
Monument of Benedict XI. in S. Domenico at Perugia	1305
Monument of St. Margaret in Santa Margherita at Cortona	Date unknown
Rebuilt the Duomo at Prato	1317—1320
Died at Pisa	1320
Arnolfo del Cambio—	
Born	1232
Working at Naples for Charles of Anjou	1277

[1] Arnolfo's works are said to have had an influence upon Margheritone (vide Appendix to this chapter, letter C).

ARNOLFO DEL CAMBIO—	A.D.
Monument of Cardinal de Braye in San Domenico at Orvieto	after 1280
Built the Loggia of Or San Michele at Florence . .	1284
Probably designed the Tabernacle of St. Paul f. le m. at Rome	1285
Decorated the exterior of the Baptistry at Florence .	1292
Commenced Santa Croce at Florence . .	1294—1295
„ the Duomo at Florence . .	1294—1295
„ the Palazzo Vecchio	1298
Died at Florence	1310

1

2

1. IVORY MADONNA, IN SACRISTY OF THE DUOMO AT PISA.
2. ANGEL, FROM THE PULPIT IN S. ANDREA AT PISTOJA, BY GIOVANNI PISANO.

BOOK II.

THE ALLEGORICAL SCULPTORS.

CHAPTER III.

ANDREA PISANO AND HIS SCHOLARS, NINO AND TOMMASO, GIOVANNI BALDUCCIO, AND ANDREA ORCAGNA.

ALL that is known of the youth of Andrea Pisano da Pontedera, son of Ugolino di Nino, is that he was early apprenticed to Giovanni Pisano,[1] and that he devoted much time to the study of the antique marbles at Pisa. When thirty-five years old, he is said to have spent a year at Venice,[2] during which he sculptured several statues for the façade of St. Mark's, and made designs for the reconstruction of the arsenal,[3] which were subsequently carried out by that ill-fated Venetian architect, Filippo Calendario.[4] The probability of Andrea's visit to Venice is strengthened by

Andrea Pisano. N.A.D.1270.

Andrea at Venice.

[1] He is mentioned as 'famulus Magistri Johannis' in the archives of the Pisan Duomo, 1299-1305 (Ciampi, *op. cit.* p. 47).

[2] Vasari says, 'Dicono alcuni (non l'affirmerai già per vero)' (vol. ii. p. 37). This doubtful assertion is confirmed by a MS., which Orlandi cites in the *Abecedario Pittorico*, and (as it appeared to Cicognara) by ancient Venetian chronicles, in which, however, Andrea is not mentioned by name. The assertion, that Calendario ameliorated his style by the instructions which he received from Andrea, would be chronologically justified, could it be proved that he came to Venice while Gradenigo was doge. Vide Selvatico, *op. cit.* pp. 110, 111. This author states his belief that the style of the Pisani penetrated into Venice through Andrea.

[3] Founded A.D. 1104, under the Doge Ordelaffo Falieri, at the time of the first Crusade.

[4] Hanged in 1354, as implicated in the conspiracy of Marino Faliero.

the testimony of Cicognara,[1] that some of the statues upon the façade of St. Mark's, which he took pains to examine, were very much in his style; and to us there seems an almost certain proof of it, in the sculptured capitals of the columns of the ducal palace, which we believe to have been made by Filippo Calendario, under the influence of Andrea, so greatly do they remind us of his works at Florence by their simplicity and clearness of style, and their allegorical treatment.[2]

After his return from Venice, Andrea attained the reputation of being the most skilful bronze-caster in Italy; and having gained great praise by a bronze crucifix, which he sent through his friend Giotto as a present to Pope Clement V. at Avignon,[3] was commissioned to make those noble gates for the Baptistry at Florence which are his chief and enduring title to fame. Assisted by his son Nino and his scholar Lionardo di Giovanni, he completed the modelling of these gates in 1330, as we learn by an inscription

Gates for the Baptistry at Florence.

[1] Cicognara, *St. della Scultura,* vol. iii. p. 405.

[2] Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon, who built the Porta della Carta after 1424, are said, by many writers, to have sculptured these column capitals; but to our eyes there is not the slightest resemblance of style between them and the statues upon the Porta del Carta; nor do we know any Venetian sculptor in either century capable of conceiving or sculpturing the capitals of the ducal palace, excepting Calendario, under Andrea's influence. Cicognara ascribes them to Calendario. Ricci (*op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 329) states his belief that Andrea influenced Calendario's style. F. Zanotto, in his work upon the ducal palace, mentions this inscription upon the column of Justice, 'Duo Soti (socii) Fiorentini incise;' these two Florentines, he supposes, are the Petrus Magistri Nicholai de Florentia and Joannes Martini de Fesulis, who made the tomb of the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo in S. Giovanni e Paolo, A.D. 1423. The reconstruction of the Riva and Piazzetta façades was decreed under this Doge. Ruskin, in the *Stones of Venice,* vol. i., and Burges (*Iconographie des Chapiteaux,* etc., extracted from *Revue Archéologique,* Paris 1857), cite an inscription in Arabic characters on the seventeenth column from the Riva bridge, dated 1344, in proof of Calendario's claims. Didron doubts if they read it correctly.

[3] Clement V. transported the papal seat to Avignon in 1305, wherefore Giotto could not have gone there till after that year (Vasari, vol. ii. p. 325, note 3).

Andrea Pisano sc.

upon them,[1] whose date refers to the period when they were ready to be cast, which operation, together with the requisite cleaning and finishing of the bronze, cost him nine years of toil. A.D. 1339. Their twenty large panels contain reliefs representing leading events in the life of St. John the Baptist; and eight of a smaller size are adorned with allegorical figures of Faith, Hope, Force, Temperance, Charity, Humility, Justice and Prudence, all of which contain special beauties; but as their enumeration might fatigue the reader, we shall content ourselves with describing those which represent Zacharias naming the infant Baptist; and St. John's disciples depositing his body in the tomb.

In the first, Zacharias is represented as a venerable old man, writing at a table, near which stands a youth and two women, beautifully draped, and grouped into a composition whose antique simplicity of means shows how far Andrea had advanced beyond Niccola and Giovanni, who could not tell a story without bringing in a crowd of figures. In the Burial of St. John (Plate VI.), we see a sarcophagus, placed beneath a Gothic canopy, into which five disciples are lowering the dead body of their master, two at the shoulders (one of whom evidently sustains the whole weight of the corpse), and two at the feet, while a sorrowing youth holds up a portion of the winding-sheet; a monk, bearing a torch, looks down upon the face of St. John from the other side of the Arca, and near him stands an old man, his hands clasped in prayer, and his eyes raised to Heaven. In these works we find sentiment, simplicity, beauty of line, purity of design, and great elegance of drapery, combined with a technical perfection hardly ever surpassed, while the single allegorical figures show the all-pervading influence of Giotto, from whom Andrea learned to use the mystical and spiritual

[1] The inscription is, 'Andreas Ugolini Nini de Pisis me fecit, A.D. MCCCXXX.' The elaborate frieze around them was begun by Lorenzo Ghiberti and his son Vittorio in 1454. After Lorenzo's death in 1455, it was completed by Vittorio, Ant. Pollajuolo, and other of his scholars.

elements of German art, as Giovanni Pisano had used the fantastic and dramatic. When they were completed and set up in the doorway of the Baptistry, now occupied by Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise, all Florence crowded to see them; and the Signory, who never quitted the Palazzo Vecchio in a body except on the most solemn occasions, came in state to applaud the artist, and to confer upon him the dignity of citizenship.

The campanile of the Duomo at Florence; begun in 1334.

We have already mentioned the friendship between Giotto and Andrea, which naturally led that great architect and painter to avail himself of our sculptor's talents when occasion offered; as, for instance, when he had completed the campanile of the Duomo, he employed him to carve some little figures which he had designed about its doorway, and to model the bas-reliefs upon its lower story, and also to make several statues to fill niches upon the façade of the Duomo, which, as we have already said, was far advanced at the time of his death. The most interesting of these statues is that of Pope Boniface VIII., now hidden away in a corner of the Strozzi gardens at Florence, where, clad in pontifical robes, and wearing a tall tiara upon its head, it sits with an air of proud impassibility, holding out its mutilated arms, as if in token of the miserable state of helplessness to which he whom it represents was finally reduced.

The Duomo façade.

Statue of Pope Boniface VIII.

With a firmness of purpose equal to that of the great Hildebrand,[1] Boniface aimed, like him, at exalting the papacy to an undisputed jurisdiction over the great European powers, and believed he had attained this end after the great Jubilee festival, which he revived in the very first year of the fourteenth century,[2] and inaugurated by riding through the streets clad in imperial

The Jubilee.

[1] The enemies of Boniface said that he stood, in character as in date, midway between Gregory VII. and Alexander VI., joining the pretensions of the one to the infamous vices of the other (H. Martin, *op. cit.* vol. iv. p. 409).

[2] Traditionally appointed to take place once in a century, and so fixed by Pope Boniface; Clement VI., in 1343, fixed it once in fifty years; Urban VI. every thirty-three years, as equal to the length of Our Lord's life; and Paul II. every twenty-five years (Gonmeric, *Rome Chrétienne,* vol. i. p. 408).

purple, preceded by heralds, bearing sword, sceptre, and globe, who cried, 'The Sovereign Pontiff, successor of St. Peter and vicar of Christ, is the only king of the Romans;' a claim which the pope himself asserted to the deputies of Albert of Austria, who came to demand their master's recognition, under that hereditary title, by saying, 'It is I who am Cæsar; the Sovereign Pontiff is the only king of the Romans.' Such multitudes were drawn to Rome by the proclaimed remission of sins to every pilgrim who should visit the apostolic shrines within the twelvemonth, that there were never less than 200,000 strangers collected together,[1] whose offerings actually rained at the foot of the altar in the Basilica of St. Paul, and were raked up by attendant priests.

Among these pilgrims were Giotto, Giovanni Villani (who tells us that he then conceived the idea of writing his world-renowned Chronicles),[2] and Dante, who compares the crowds of spirits passing to and fro in hell to the multitudes which he then saw crossing and recrossing the Ponte St. Angelo.[3] Two years after the Jubilee, the renewed exactions of Boniface, who claimed authority in France over temporal as well as over spiritual matters, fanned into a flame the hostile feelings which had long smouldered between him and Philip le Bel; and upon the king's declaration that he would disinherit his own children 'if they recognised any other power than that of God in temporal matters, or avowed that they held the kingdom of France from any living man,' the pope issued a bull ('Ausculta fili'), in which he asserted his pretensions, and charged his enemy

The struggle between Boniface and Philip.

[1] G. Villani, lib. viii. ch. xxxvi. p. 367.

[2] 'Ma considerando che la nostra città di Firenze, figliulo e fattura di Roma, era nel suo montare, ed a seguire grandi cose disposta, siccome Roma nel suo calare, mi parve convenevole di recare in questo volume . . . . . Et così mediante la gratia di Christo nelli anni suoi 1300, tornato io da Roma comminciai a compilare questo libro,' etc. etc. (*ibid.*).

[3] 'Come i Roman, per l'esercito molto,
L'anno del giubbileo, su per lo ponte,
Hanno a passar la gente modo tolto' (*Inferno*, canto xviii.).

with falsifying the French coinage, and appropriating the benefices of vacant sees; Philip caused the bull to be publicly burnt at Paris, 'thereby burning the pope's temporal power, as two centuries later Luther burned his spiritual power at Wittemberg;'[1] and followed up this bold act by convoking the States-General of France, from whom he obtained a complete recognition of the national independence. 'Let the king look to his ways,' said the pope, 'or we will punish him as if he were a little boy' ('sicut unum garcionem'), and issued a bull of excommunication, and a threat of deposition, in case of continued resistance. In the meantime the chancellor Nogarêt, having (in an assemblage of prelates and barons held at the Louvre) declared Boniface to be a false pope, because he had forced his predecessor Celestine V. to abdicate, besought the king to judge, depose, and imprison him by means of an œcumenic council. But Philip, preferring more direct means, organised a body of 400 armed men (headed by De Nogarêt, and the pope's implacable enemy, Sciarra Colonna), which soon after entered Anagni, where the pope resided, crying, 'Death to Boniface,' 'Long live the King of France,'[2] and proceeding directly to the papal palace, set fire to its closed doors, and forced their way in. The pope on their approach dried a few tears from his eyes, put on his tiara and his official robes, and holding in his hand the keys, and a cross which he pressed against his breast, took his seat upon the throne, saying calmly, 'If like Christ I am to be treacherously seized and put to death by my enemies, I will die as sovereign pontiff.'[3] This firmness did not desert him when the conspirators, bursting into the room, dragged him from his seat, with blows and insults,

[1] H. Martin, *Hist. de France*, vol. iv.

[2] 'Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
E nel vicario suo Christo esser catto.
Veggio un altra volta esser deriso;
Veggio rinnovellar l' aceto e 'l fele;
E trà nuovi ladroni esser anciso' (*Purgatorio*, canto. xx. v. 86).

[3] Abbate Tosti, *Vita di Bonifazio VIII.* vol. ii. lib. vi. pp. 261 *et seq.*

to which he replied, 'Behold my head, my neck. I, Catholic legitimate pontiff, joyfully accept my condemnation at the hand of heretics. I thirst to die for the faith of Christ and for His Church.' His resolute demeanour so awed his persecutors, that they determined to keep him a prisoner, until fear and suffering should force him to abdicate; but on the 9th the people of Anagni, roused to pity by the terrible situation of their sovereign, drove them out of the city, and bore him in triumph to the piazza. The unhappy pope thanked them with tears; declared that he was dying of hunger, and after partaking of bread and wine, which were brought to him, told them that he only desired peace with all his enemies; he then returned to Rome to convoke a council, but had no longer strength to do so, for no sooner had he arrived at the Vatican, than fever and delirium set in, during which he blasphemed, struggled, and ground his teeth, falling, says a chronicler, into such a state of frenzy, that he devoured his own hands, and at last died, without confession or extreme unction, in the midst of thunderings and lightnings neither heard nor seen by the inhabitants of the towns near Rome.[1] Oct. 1303.

The only other sculptural works by Andrea which we know are the statues of the Four Doctors of the Church, made for the façade of the Duomo, which now stand, transformed into poets, at the foot of the hill leading up to Poggio Imperiale; and some statuettes destined for the same place, among those in the villa at Castello; also a bas-relief of the Madonna and Child, on the outside of the Bigallo at Florence, and a group of the same subject in the Campo Santo at Pisa.[2] Statues for the façade of the Duomo.

His most important architectural work was the strengthening of the Palazzo Vecchio with great walls, towers, and barbicans, to render it a safe residence for Walter de Brienne, titular Duke of The Duke of Athens.

[1] The continuator of De Nangis. Vide H. Martin, *Hist. de France*, vol. iv.

[2] There was formerly in the Baptistry a tabernacle with two angels, by Andrea, which was removed in 1732, to make room for one more in accordance with the wretched taste of the time (Vasari, vol. ii. p. 38, note 1).

Athens, whom the Florentines had in an evil hour made Captain and 'Conservatore del Popolo.' This base and treacherous tyrant
A.D. 1341. for a time so masked his acts of vengeance under the name of justice, as to deceive the people, who elected him perpetual lord of Florence. But he could not long shut their eyes to his wholesale system of extortion and plunder, which soon reduced them to such a pitiable condition that Florence,

Che non si muove se tutto non si dole,'

rose 'en masse,' nobles, artisans, and people, and besieged him for eight days in his palace. Each day he strove to pacify their fury by delivering up to them the miserable tools of his atrocities, and at last, more frightened than humbled, signed his abdication, and was allowed to depart amidst universal execration.[1]

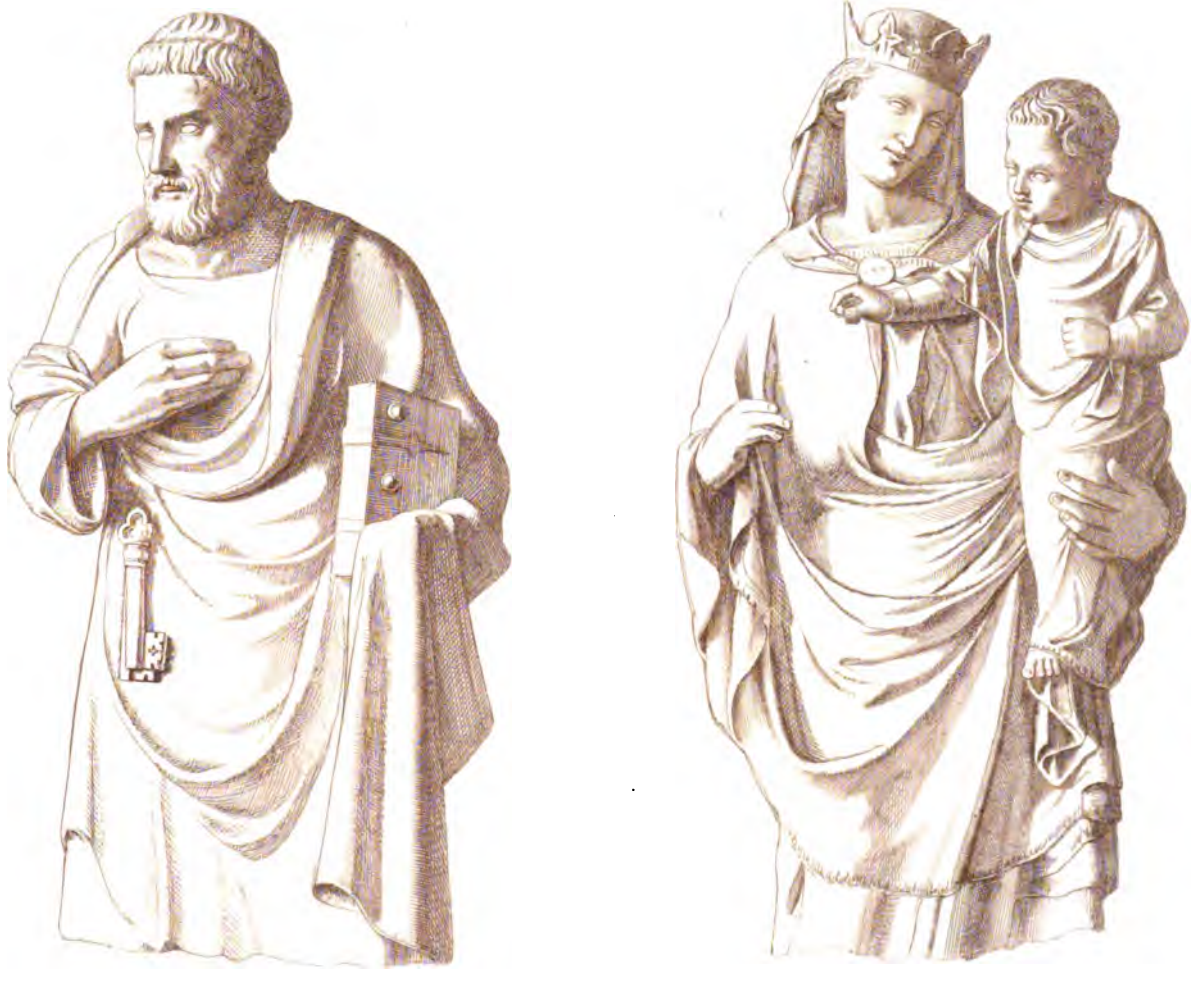
In their hatred of the Duke of Athens, the people destroyed the greater part of his palace, but showed that they did not connect the architect with the tyrant, by appointing Andrea to offices of public trust, and making him one of the city magistrates.[2] During the course of his life, he constructed many palaces, villas, and castles, in and about Florence, and began to build the Baptistry at Pistoja, with the assistance of Maestro Cellini di Nese,
Death of Andrea. a Sienese architect.[3] He died at Florence in 1345, and was buried
A.D. 1345. in the Duomo, in the nave, near the pulpit, but the exact spot is not known, as the monumental slab has disappeared which recorded that he worked in gold and ivory as well as in marble.

Alberto Arnoldi. His scholars were Alberto Arnoldi, his sons Nino and Tommaso, Giovanni Balduccio di Pisa, and the world-renowned Andrea Orcagna. Of Alberto Arnoldi nothing more is known
A.D. 1359. than that he worked upon the façade of the Duomo of Florence; that he was afterwards made 'capo maestro dell' opera'; and spent

[1] Napier, *op. cit.* vol. ii. ch. xix. xx.; G. Villani, lib. xii. ch. viii.; Milizia, vol. i. p. 116.

[2] Vasari, vol. ii. p. 42, note 1.

[3] Vide chapter upon the Sienese School.



St. PETER AND THE MADONNA.

many years of his life at Milan, in the service of Galeazzo Visconti.[1] Sacchetti has introduced him in one of his 'Novelle' as the umpire in a debate held at San Miniato between Orcagna, Taddeo Gaddi, and other artists, one of whom had asked who was the next greatest artist to Giotto. Gaddi answers, that although there have been clever painters, art is evidently falling off day by day. Arnoldi, taking the matter in a jocular way, thereupon proceeds to prove that the Florentine women are entitled to be called the greatest artists that ever existed, because they know how to make deformed children straight—black children, white; to put crooked noses into shape, and breasts and haunches into their proper place, thus setting nature to rights. 'Long live the maestro,' cry the united company, 'who has judged so well this knotty point; he has deserved the wand of office.' Upon which they call for wine, and then depart, having promised the abbot of the convent to come again on the next Festa to discuss the question still further.[2] His only known work is the life-size statue of the Madonna, which stands upon the altar of the Bigallo Chapel at Florence.[3] She is a dignified matron, rigid in attitude, and impassive in countenance, enveloped in a once star-spangled drapery, of which the massive and carefully arranged folds fall over the lower half of the body of the Child, who sits poised upon her left arm. Although without beauty or expression, this group has a certain grandeur, from its impassiveness, like Egyptian statues, which seem immutable as fate, mocking at all approach to human sympathy.

The Madonna del Bigallo.

Nino, who assisted his father in modelling the Baptistry gate, was an artist of feeling and graceful sentiment, as is best seen in his masterpiece, the Madonna della Rosa, which stands on the altar of the Chiesa della Spina at Pisa (Plate VII.). Neither stiff,

The Madonna della Rosa.

[1] Franco Sacchetti, *Novella* 229, and Baldinucci *con Aggiunta di* Piacenza, vol. iv. p. 437. Ed. Milano, 1811.

[2] Sacchetti, *Novella* 136.

[3] Contract dated June 18, 1359. Vide Appendix, letter A.

unsympathetic nor coldly dignified like Arnoldi's Madonna, Nino's gentle Virgin holds a rose in her left hand, which the infant Jesus leans forward to take. A veil falls in graceful folds upon her shoulders from beneath the crown upon her head. The sweetness of Nino's manner sometimes degenerated into mawkishness, as we see in the statues of the Virgin and of the angel of the Annunciation in the church of Sta. Caterina, at Pisa, whose faces are distorted by a smirking smile.[1] Their eyes, draperies, hair, and robe-fringes bear traces of colour and gilding, according to the common practice of his time.[2] Nino also designed the monument of Archbishop Saltarelli which stands in this church, and perhaps sculptured some of the best figures in the bas-reliefs upon its front and sides.[3]

Tomb of Archbishop Saltarelli.

This Archbishop had counselled the Pisans to shut their gates against Louis of Bavaria, when, having crossed the Alps to claim imperial rights, he braved excommunication and caused the interdicted bishops of Arezzo and Brescia to place the iron crown upon his head at Milan. Pisa, tired of the imperial treacheries and the papal interdicts and exactions which her Ghibellinism had brought upon her, offered the emperor 60,000 florins if he would give up his intention of entering her walls; but Louis refused,[4] and taking the city by siege, exacted a tribute of 160,000, and revenged himself upon the patriotic bishop by depriving him of his see.[5]

A.D. 1327.

[1] These statues have been incorrectly called 'Faith and Charity.'

[2] See Appendix, letter B.

[3] It was much injured by a fire in the seventeenth century, before which time it towered nearly to the roof of the church (Roncioni, *Chronica di Sta. Caterina Arch. St. Il.* vol. vi. part i. p. 743, part ii. p. 465).

[4] By the advice of Castruccio Castracani, who was anxious to become master of Pisa, the emperor, after taking Pisa, gave the sovereignty to his wife, and quieted Castruccio by making him lord of Lucca, Pistoja, Volterra, and the Lunigiana (Cantu, vol. ii. p. 745).

[5] Proved by a decree of the Pisan magistrates, dated Dec. 8, 1368, to pay twenty florins to Andrea, son of the *late* sculptor, Nino di Andrea (*Doc.* pub. by Prof. Bonaini; Vasari, vol. ii. p. 44, note 1).

At the time of Nino's death he was occupied upon a monument to the Pisan Doge, Dell' Agnello, the chief patron of his brother Tommaso, who was architect, sculptor, painter and goldsmith. As an architect, Tommaso built the upper story of the Leaning Tower, and designed a palace for Dell' Agnello; as a sculptor, he made the monument of the Duchess Margaret, wife of the Doge,[1] and a marble Ancona for the church of San Francesco, now in the Campo Santo, which consists of six Gothic niches, containing a group of the Madonna and Child, and five statuettes of saints, whose pointed gables are filled with half-figures of saints; and of a predella covered with bas-reliefs. Though rich in general effect, it is coarsely sculptured, and the figures, which are poorly drawn, show none of Nino's sweetness of feeling. It looks like the work of a man more accustomed to labour as a goldsmith than as a sculptor; and this, we are inclined to believe, was the case with Tommaso, though we have no example of his skill in that branch of art. We are also obliged to take on trust his capacity as a painter, and only know of him as such, by an order which the Doge gave him to paint two caskets for his wife.

About 1367. Tommaso Pisano.

A.D. 1368.

Moving in a narrow sphere, the two sons of Andrea Pisano could do nothing towards propagating the principles of his school out of Tuscany; but such was not the case with his scholar Giovanni Balduccio di Pisa, who was long a resident in the north of Italy. Born at Pisa about the beginning of the fourteenth century, he worked during the early part of his life in Tuscany, first making a pulpit for the church of Sta. Maria al Prato, at Casciano near Florence, and the rude monument of Guarnerius, son of Castruccio Castracani, for the church of St. Francis at Sarzana, from which Castruccio judged so favourably of his talents that he recommended him to his friend Azzo Visconti, Lord of Milan,[2] who,

Balduccio di Pisa.

A.D. 1328.

[1] Erected in the Duomo, and destroyed by fire in 1596. For a notice of Dell' Agnello, see Appendix to this chapter, letter C.

[2] This friendship had commenced at the battle of Alto Poscio, A.D. 1325, in which they fought side by side against the Guelphs, under Raymond of

anxious to promote the cause of art in his dominions, invited him
A.D. 1333. Goes to Milan. in common with other distinguished artists to Milan, where he employed him to execute many works, the most important of which was the monument to St. Peter Martyr in the church of San Eustorgio.

St. Peter Martyr. Frà Pietro di Verona, commonly known as St. Peter Martyr, had zealously laboured during the first half of the thirteenth century in the service of the Church; first in Florence, where the Paterini, who denied the efficacy of the Holy Eucharist, of the baptismal rite, and of prayers and almsgiving for the dead, had become so numerous, that Pope Gregory IX. sent him to assist the inquisitor Frà Ruggiero Calcagni in suppressing this so-called Manichæan sect; and then at Cremona, and Milan, where the people, angry at the ill success of their arms against Frederic II., had vented their feelings by inverting crucifixes and insulting church rites. The immense success of Frà Pietro, at Florence, where such crowds flocked to hear his sermons, that the Signory at his request
A.D. 1244. enlarged the Piazza of Sta. Maria Novella, in which he delivered them,[1] and where, with a red-cross banner in his hand, he led his followers to battle against the Paterini, was not to be repeated in
A.D. 1252. Lombardy, for as he was one day journeying between Milan and Como, he was set upon by assassins and mortally wounded. Lying thus upon the ground, he dipped his finger into the blood which poured from his wounds, and traced the single word 'Credo' in the sand, in token of his unshaken faith. As we write the story of his death, Titian's wonderful picture comes before us, with its magical colour, its dramatic vigour, its beautiful landscape, and the golden glory which surrounds the angels who

Cardona. After Azzo was liberated, by Castruccio's mediation, from the prison at Monza, into which he had been treacherously thrown by the emperor, Louis of Bavaria, he took refuge in Tuscany, and there cultivated his natural love of art, which he did so much to promote in Lombardy after his accession, A.D. 1329.

[1] Cantu, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 457.

TEMPERANCE

descend through the overshadowing trees to bear the martyr's spirit to heaven.

Tomb of St. Peter Martyr; begun in 1336, finished 1339.

Balduccio's monument to this saint consists of a sarcophagus supported upon eight pilasters, in front of which stand allegorical figures of Hope, Prudence, Justice, Obedience, Charity, Faith, Force, and Temperance, all bearing the strongest evidence of Giotto's influence upon him. Take for instance the Hope, with upturned eyes full of intense expression, and the Temperance (Plate VIII.), charming in pose, and noble in drapery, with a wreath of ivy leaves around her veiled head, and a look of dreamy gentleness in her wide eyes; or the triple-faced Prudence, which looks at once at past, present, and future. The eight bas-reliefs upon the sides of the Arca, representing scenes in the saint's life, are very inferior in workmanship to these statues, and cannot stand a moment's comparison with the bas-reliefs of Niccola or Giovanni Pisano, and far less with those of Andrea. They are separated from each other by statuettes of SS. Peter, Paul, Eustorgio, Thomas Aquinas, and the Doctors of the Church; and upon the sides of the lid of the 'Arca,' the donators are represented in relief. Statuettes of angels, and a tabernacle, under which sits the Madonna and Child, with SS. Peter Martyr and Dominic, complete this elaborate work, which has few equals in unity of design, earnestness of feeling, and a judicious use of the symbolism of Christian art.[1]

Tomb of Azzo Visconti.

Azzo Visconti died within the year which saw its completion, and Balduccio, as his favourite artist, was appointed to erect a monument to his memory in a chapel adjoining the palace; which monument, in a mutilated state, now forms the chief ornament of

[1] Azzo and Giovanni Visconti, the King and Queen of Cyprus, Don Erasmo Borgia, and many French, German, and English noblemen, contributed largely to the funds collected for its erection. Vide G. Calvi, *Prof. di Belle Arti*, etc. part i. Milan, 1859; and Giuglini, vol. v. p. 286. It is inscribed with these words, 'Johannes Balduccius de Pisis sculpsit hanc archam, A.D. 1339, costò circa due mila scudi d'oro' (Lattuarda, *Desc. di Milano*, vol. iii. p. 214).

the gallery of the Marchese Trivulzi at Milan.[1] The front of the sarcophagus, on which the recumbent figure of the deceased prince lies, watched over by angels, is sculptured with reliefs representing knights, and their patron saints (typical of the cities subject to Azzo) kneeling before St. Ambrose. It is supported upon two columns, above which stood the now detached statues of St. Michael and the Dragon, and a female figure holding before her a small child with clasped hands, possibly emblematic of her soul. According to some authorities, Balduccio was the architect of Azzo's palace,[2] which stood on the site of the present royal residence, and of which the Milanese chronicler Fiamma wrote a minute description.[3] We have little doubt that he made the fine tomb of Lanfranco Settala, an Augustinian monk and professor of theology, in the church of San Marco at Milan.[4] On the top of the sarcophagus, which is raised upon consoles, and set against the wall, the deceased monk lies upon a mortuary couch, behind which two figures raise the folds of a curtain. He is again represented in the centre of the front of the 'Arca,' seated at a desk instructing his scholars, who are sculptured in bas-relief within the side panels; and his very earnest face, as well as his cowl, frock and hands, being coloured, the effect is life-like and striking. The bas-reliefs directly opposite this tomb from the now destroyed monument of Salvario de' Aliprandi, a bas-relief of the three Magi,[5] the tomb of Stefano Visconti and the Ancona

Azzo's palace.

Tomb of L. Settala.

[1] According to the engraving given by Giuglini (vol. v. p. 274), it was surmounted by a Gothic canopy.

[2] Calvi (*op. cit.* pp. 5, 8) attributes it to Francesco Pecorari da Cremona, who built the church and tower of San Gottardo, both of which Albuzzi erroneously ascribes to Balduccio. Vide MS. *History of Lombard Artists*, by Bossi and Cattaneo, in the Library of Don Alessandro Melzi, at Milan.

[3] See Appendix, letter D.

[4] This Lanfranco Settala, who died while Balduccio was at Milan, is not to be confounded with Beato L. Settala, who died in the same Convent of St. Mark, A.D. 1264 (Giuglini, vol. iv. p. 562; Calvi, *op. cit.* p. 22).

[5] Calvi, p. 20. Albuzzi and Lattuarda ascribe this relief to Balduccio. It was sculptured in 1347 for a company of scholars attached to the Chapel of the

in S. Eustorgio, a bas-relief on the outside of the Porta Nuova, and some rude stone figures in a lower room of the Brera, which once stood above the door of the now destroyed church of Sta. Maria in Brera,[1] all belong to Balduccio's school, and with many works at Milan, as well as in other Lombard cities (such, for example, as the Arca di San Agostino[2] at Pavia, and the tomb of one of the Scaligers at Verona), prove how great was his influence upon sculpture in the north of Italy. M. 1347.

We now come to the last and most eminent scholar of Andrea Pisano, Andrea Arcagnuolo di Cione, commonly called Andrea Orcagna,[3] architect, goldsmith, sculptor, painter and poet, son of the celebrated goldsmith, Maestro Cione,[4] who was born at Florence in 1329. Before entering the studio of Andrea Pisano, he studied the goldsmith's craft under his father, and painting under his brother Bernardo, in the practice of which art he appears to have been chiefly occupied during the early part of his life. After aiding his brother to paint the Life of the Madonna,[5] the two great frescoes of Hell and Paradise in Santa Maria Novella, the frescoes of the Cresci chapel in the Servi (now destroyed), and the façade of San Apollinare, he painted the Andrea Orcagna.

Three Kings. 'Fecero fare l' Ancona della cappella loro, di marmo figurato e istoriato' (Cronaca, L. vol. iii. p. 205). The bodies of the three kings were venerated in this church from A.D. 320 to 1160 (Lattuada, *Desc. di Milano*, vol. iii. p. 203).

[1] Built for the Umiliati by Balduccio, in 1347 (Ricci, vol. ii. p. 377). See 'Eng. of Façade,' in *Le Fabbriche piu Cospicue di Milano*, by Cassina.

[2] Matteo da Campione made the Arca di San Agostino and the pulpit at Monza; Zeno da Campione, the Arca at San Eustorgio; and Bonino, with Matteo da Campione, the Scaliger tomb at Verona. All these men belonged to one family, which gave several generations of artists to Lombardy.

[3] Rumohr (*It. Forschungen*, vol. ii. p. 90) first cleared up all doubt as to his real name of Arcagnuolo having been corrupted into that of Orcagna.

[4] His most famous work was a silver altar for the Florentine Baptistry, which was wantonly destroyed in 1336, excepting a few reliefs now incorporated with those of Ghiberti, Michelozzo, Pollajuolo, and other eminent 'quattrocentisti,' into the new altar which is kept in the Opera del Duomo.

[5] Afterwards repainted by Domenico Ghirlandajo.

picture of the Coronation of the Virgin (in the National Gallery) for the church of San Piero Maggiore, and a now lost picture for San Remigio,[1] by which he gained so great a reputation that he was commissioned to paint the frescoes of the Triumph of Death, and the Last Judgment, in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The argument of the first of these great works is expressed in the lines of Horace,

> **Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas**
> **Regumque turres.**

They have been so often described, and are so well known, that we need not dwell upon them. Orcagna's peculiar powers there attained their highest expression, and he taught, like the earlier artists, with the boldest realism a great lesson, in language clear to the most ignorant.

Or San Michele. A.D. 1284. N. 1260. M. 1339.

We have already spoken, in the life of Arnolfo del Cambio, of the loggia which he built, and of the wonder-working picture of the Madonna which Ugolino da Siena painted upon one of its pilasters.[2] This loggia was so much injured by a great fire which laid half the city in ashes early in the fourteenth century,[3] that it was decided to erect upon the same site, and at the expense of the city guilds, a new public granary upon a much larger scale, and Taddeo Gaddi, then head master of the commune, was appointed architect. Two years after the corner-stone had been laid with unusual pomp and ceremony, the city magistrates granted the petition of the Arte della Seta, or Silk Merchants' Guild,[4] that they

A.D. 1304.

July 29, 1337.

[1] The altar-piece of the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella was not painted till 1354 (*Doc.* given by Baldinucci; Vasari, vol. ii. p. 131, note 1).

[2] A lay brotherhood was founded in honour of Ugolino's picture, whose members were called the Captains of Or San Michele.

[3] Neri degli Abbati, Prior of S. Piero Schieraggio, originated this conflagration, by setting fire to a house near Or San Michele. Seven hundred palaces, towers, and private residences were burnt.

[4] The city guilds were bodies of great wealth and importance. The chief were those of the money-changers, lawyers and notaries, physicians and chemists, and the dealers in woollen silks and linen stuffs, and furs. Of these

should be allowed to decorate one of its niches with the statue of their patron saint; an example which was followed by several other guilds, and led to the external decoration of the building with statues by all the greatest artists of the fifteenth century. In the meantime the brotherhood of Or San Michele had become enormously wealthy.[1] To the gifts of devotees to the miraculous picture were added the donations made by the citizens, who, restricted as to their dress and other showy forms of expenditure by severe sumptuary laws, spent their surplus wealth liberally upon public as well as private edifices; and when, after a long period of prosperity, a terrible pestilence desolated A.D. 1348. their city, the panic-stricken Florentines offered their treasures yet more freely at this shrine, and the Signory showed the reverence in which they held it by making a law which gave to it one-third of the property of any person guilty of the murder of a relative to whom he was heir-at-law. Thus enriched, the confraternity appointed Andrea Orcagna to succeed Taddeo Gaddi, whose commenced granary he was to finish as a church, and erect within its walls a Tabernacle to enshrine the famous picture of the Virgin,[3] which had been the cause of their association. Summoned for this purpose from Orvieto, whither

the wealthiest was the Arte della Seta, or Silk Merchants' Guild. The Arte della Calimala, which dealt in Transalpine fabrics, had no less than twenty warehouses; and the Arte della Lana (wool traders) 200 workshops, in which 70,000 or 80,000 pieces of cloth were annually manufactured, at a profit of 1,200,000 florins, by 30,000 workmen. Vide Reumont, *Beiträge*, &c. vol. vi. p. 361, note 1; and Napier, *op. cit.* p. 579, 580.

[1] In the course of half a century the offerings to the chapel amounted to 350,000 florins.

[2] Boccaccio says, more than 100,000 persons perished at Florence, between March and July. Villani says, Florence lost three fifths, and Pisa four fifths of their inhabitants, and Siena 80,000 citizens.

[3] Ugolino's picture, which, like all his works, was painted 'alla Greca,' and on the 'intonaco,' or plaster surface, of one of the pilasters of the Loggia, undoubtedly perished in the fire of 1304. The present picture, which is upon canvas, and in the Giottesque style, was probably painted by some artist of the fourteenth century. VideVasari, *Comm. alla Vita di Ugolino*, vol. ii. pp. 23, 25.

he had gone to superintend the mosaics of the cathedral, Orcagna returned to Florence to design and construct this work, which, perhaps, embodies more than any other the spirit of mediæval Christian art. Built of white marble in the Gothic style—enriched with every kind of ornament, and storied with bas-reliefs illustrative of the Madonna's history from her birth to her death —it rises in stately beauty towards the roof of the church, and whether considered from an architectural, sculptural or symbolic point of view, must excite the warmest admiration in all who can appreciate the perfect unity of conception through which its bas-reliefs, statuettes, busts, intaglios, mosaics and incrustations of pietre dure, gilded glass and enamels are welded into a unique 'ensemble.'

The tabernacle at Or San Michele; finished in 1359.

> Che passa di bellezza, s' io ben recolo,
> Tutti gli altri che son dentro del secolo.[1]

The front of the tabernacle is occupied by the altar, and over it is placed the picture of the Madonna, above which rises the open-work roof, crowned by statuettes of the Archangel Michael and an attendant angel. Upon three sides of its base are set reliefs, in octangular recesses, representing the Birth, Presentation, and Marriage of the Virgin, the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and lastly, we see the Madonna receiving the announcement of her approaching death from an angel, in which she appears as an aged woman, gazing wistfully and submissively at the celestial messenger, who brings to her a palm branch, which, according to the legend, was endowed with miraculous power to conceal her dead body, while on its way to the tomb, from the eyes of the Jews.[2]

As this relief is remarkable for its sentiment, so is that of the Marriage of the Virgin for its composition. In the midst stands

[1] Poem upon the Tabernacle, by Sacchetti.

[2] This event, which is said to have occurred at Jerusalem twenty-two years after the death of our Lord, is related in the apocryphal book, entitled *De Transitu B. M. Virginis.*

MARRIAGE OF JOSEPH AND MARY

the dignified high priest, who solemnly joins the hands of Joseph and Mary; while on either side are grouped other persons, one of whom, a disappointed youth, angrily breaks his rod, which did not bud (Plate IX.).[1] In the other six reliefs the subjects are clearly illustrated, and equally charming in composition and sentiment. They are separated by smaller reliefs of the Christian virtues, and surrounded by twenty half-figures of virtues and saints, and busts of the sciences and arts. A large relief above the base, and at the back of the shrine, represents the death of the Madonna, who lies upon a couch surrounded by the apostles, among whom Orcagna has introduced himself with a hood upon his head and a shaven beard (see tailpiece to Chapter III.), and her ascension in the mystic mandorla, from which she drops her girdle to the incredulous St. Thomas.[2]

The Loggia de' Lanzi.

Orcagna's next great work was the Loggia de' Lanzi (so called from its location near the guard-house of the German lanzi or landsknechts), intended as a place of assembly for the discussion of political or commercial matters in rainy weather, instead of the uncovered 'ringhiera' before the Palazzo Vecchio.[3] Three wide arches in front and one at the end, whose bold span recalls those of ancient Rome, are supported upon pilasters with Corinthian capitals, and surmounted by a broad entablature, adorned with six half figures in relief of the cardinal and theological virtues, and with a group of the Madonna and Child seated beneath a canopy.[4]

[1] 'A voice came from the sanctuary commanding that every man of the house of David, who was not wedded, should place his rod on the altar; and that he whose rod should bud and upon which the Holy Spirit should descend in the form of a dove, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, should be the spouse of Mary.' As the rod that budded was that of Joseph, he became the husband of Mary.

[2] The inscription upon the Tabernacle runs thus: 'Andreas Cionis Pictor Fiorentinus . . . . extitit hujus MCCCLIX.' Orcagna generally signed his sculptures 'Pictor,' and his paintings 'Sculptor;' so Francia signed his pictures 'Aurifex,' and his goldsmith work 'Pictor;' and Vecchietta his sculptures 'Pictoris opus,' and his paintings 'Scultoris opus.'

[3] Gaye (*Casteggio*, vol. i. pp. 526, 528) says, Orcagna began this Loggia in 1376; Ricci (vol. ii. p. 258) says, in 1374.

[4] Vide Appendix, letter E.

Michael Angelo advised Duke Cosimo I. to continue this loggia round the piazza, but unfortunately the project was given up on account of its great cost, as it has again been in our day when suggested as a national monument to Dante, the poet of Italian independence—a plan all the more fitting, as Orcagna, like so many of the great Italian artists, was a poet of no mean ability.[1] The year of his death is uncertain, and variously fixed in 1379 or 1389.[2] If the first date be correct, he left the Loggia de' Lanzi to be completed by his brother Bernardo, who succeeded him as architect to the commune. His other brother Jacopo, architect, sculptor, and painter, was, like himself, a scholar of Andrea Pisano.[3]

The Certosa, founded in 1341.

Whether Andrea Orcagna built the Certosa near Florence, is uncertain, but the monuments of its founder Niccolò Acciajuoli and his family, which exist in its subterranean church, belong to his time, and were perhaps executed by some of his scholars.

Buried in 1366.

The tomb of Niccolò (Grand Seneschal of the Kingdom of Naples under Queen Joanna I.) consists of his recumbent statue, clad in armour, placed high against the wall, beneath a rich Gothic canopy. His son Lorenzo, upon whose funeral obsequies he spent more than 50,000 gold florins, lies below, under a marble slab, upon which is sculptured the effigy of this 'youth of a most lovely countenance, cavalier and great baron, tried in arms, and eminent for his graceful manners, and his gracious and noble aspect.'[4] Next him lie his grandfather and sister.

With Orcagna, the Pisan school, whose rise and progress we have now traced through the better part of two centuries, may be said

[1] His humorous poems are called *Burchiellesca,* from Burchiello, a poet who adopted his peculiar style. Orcagna's sonnets exist in MS. in the Strozzi and Magliabecchian libraries at Florence. See Appendix, letter F.

[2] Vasari (vol. ii. p. 134) says, he died in 1389. The annotators of his *Lives* say he was dead in 1376.

[3] He sculptured four stone lions (Marzocchi) for the Palazzo Vecchio, built the tower of the church of San Piero in Gattalino, and made the monuments of Piero di Farnese, formerly in the Duomo.

[4] F. Villani. Appendix to ed. in 8vo. No. 169, p. 128.

to close. Though on account of Giotto's influence upon them, and their having lived in Florence, Andrea Pisano and his scholars might be classed in the Florentine school, yet, for the sake of clearness, and because the primitive character, so clearly seen in their works, no longer appears in those of their successors, we should date the latter from Donatello and Ghiberti, considering it as the successor of the Pisan and Sienese, which died out, the one in the fourteenth, and the other in the fifteenth century.

What the first of these schools was before Ghiberti, we have seen; we will now look a little into the other, before taking up the Florentine school, whose history becomes henceforward that of Tuscan sculpture.

CHRONOLOGY.

	A.D.
Andrea Pisano—	
Born	1270
Spends a year at Venice	1305—1306
Models the gates of the Baptistry at Florence, before	1330
Completes them in bronze	1339
Models bas-reliefs for Giotto's campanile, and statues for the façade of the Duomo, after	1334
Bas-relief of the Madonna and Child on the outside of the Bigallo at Florence	Date unknown
Group of ditto, in Campo Santo at Pisa	„
Fortifies the Palazzo Vecchio	1341
Baptistry at Pistoja	Date unknown
Died at Florence	1345
Alberto Arnoldi—	
Date of birth unknown	
Works upon the façade of the Duomo at Florence	1359
Group of the Madonna and Child with Angels in the Bigallo Chapel	1359
Nino Pisano—	
Date of birth unknown	
Madonna della Rosa at Pisa, in the Ch. della Spina	
Virgin and Angel in the Church of Santa Caterina at Pisa	
Monument of Archbishop Saltarelli in ditto.	
Death of Nino, before	1361

	A.D.
TOMMASO PISANO—	
Monument to the Duchess Margaret, formerly in the Duomo at Pisa	1368
Ancona in the Campo Santo	Date unknown
G. BALDUCCIO DI PISA—	
Born about	1300
Monument to Guarnerius in S. Francesco at Sarzana	1328
Monument to St. Peter Martyr in S. Eustorgio, at Milan	1336—1339
Monument to Azzo Visconti, now in the Trivulzi Gallery at Milan, after	1339
Monument to Lanfranco Settala in S. Marco	Date unknown
Died at Milan	about 1347
ANDREA ORCAGNA—	
Born	1329
Church and Tabernacle of Or San Michele	1359
Builds the Loggia de' Lanzi	1374 or 1376
Date of his death uncertain, probably A.D. 1376; some writers say	1389

PORTRAIT OF ORCAGNA, FROM A BAS-RELIEF ON THE TABERNACLE OF SAN MICHELE.

CHAPTER IV.

SIENESE SCHOOL.

AT Siena, as in other Italian cities, the earliest 'Maestri di Pietra'[1] were architects, who employed sculpture merely for decorative purposes. We have, therefore, to search the porticoes, pilasters windows, and walls, of early buildings, for examples of their work.

Where the earliest examples of Sienese sculpture are to be found.

The oldest of these belong to the period of Lombard dominion, during which many oratories and churches were erected both in and about Siena,[2] such as S. Giovanni d'Asso, whose carved ornaments, mere architectural accessories in the oldest Byzantine style, may be taken as a type.[3] But the most remarkable examples of early Sienese sculpture are to be found in the cloisters of the

[1] 'Maestro di Pietra' indicates the head of a workshop, 'Capo di Bottega,' whose workmen were called 'Scarpellini,' stone-cutters; 'Magister Lapidum' signifies sculptor; 'Capo Maestro,' the person who designed and directed the works of the Fabbrica del Duomo, or those of other buildings; 'Operajo,' the inspector, or superintendent, of a building in process of erection, who was not necessarily an artist.

[2] Milanesi, *Siena e il suo Territorio*, p. 155. Such were the Canonica of San Ansano a Dofano, built before 715; the Monastery of S. Eugenio, founded in 731; the Abbey of S. Antonio, near Montalcino, still standing (founded, it is said, by Charlemagne), with rudely sculptured capitals, lions, and symbolical friezes.

[3] Dr. Carpellini's notes to Romagnuoli's MS. *Treatise on Siennese Art*, in the library at Siena. S. Giovanni d' Asso was built by Warnifredo, Castaldo di Siena for King Luitprand, 712—744. The Lombard officer who ruled Siena was called 'Guastaldo,' or 'Castaldo.'

abbey of Santa Mustiola di Torri, upon the capitals of whose columns are carved doves, birds with long twisted necks, lions' whelps, dragons, and fantastic monsters; and upon two of whose architraves, opposite the principal entrances, are bas-reliefs of the Temptation of Eve, the Eating of the Forbidden Fruit, the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, and the Murder of Abel, executed with a spirit and attempt at accuracy which shows that the Sienese sculptors of the twelfth century were not insensible to the impulse which quickened art at that period in other parts of Italy.

Pieve al Ponte allo Spino.

The bas-reliefs in the chapel of St. Ansano, in the Duomo at Siena, which were brought from the Pieve al Ponte allo Spino, were probably sculptured early in the thirteenth century,[1] by some one of the many artists then attached to the Duomo. They represent the Birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi, and show in their thick-set figures and clumsy style little knowledge of art, and little capacity for expression. At the time of

A.D. 1266.

Niccola Pisano's arrival at Siena, her sculptors made up in number what they wanted in quality, for no less than sixty, we

The Sculptors' Guild.

are told, kept open shop in the city,[2] and constituted a guild, ruled by three rectors and a chamberlain, elected for six months, none of whom could be changed, unless in case of illness or absence, and none re-elected until three years after the expiration of a previous tenure of office.[3] These Sienese sculptors showed so little jealousy and such a cordial appreciation of Niccola Pisano and his assistants, that we cannot wonder that they profited greatly by the model which he set before them in the pulpit, from which, as from the Trojan horse, says Padre della Valle, issued the first Sienese and Florentine sculptors.

[1] They belonged to the altar of the Pieve. Some of the capitals of the columns in the Duomo at Siena belong to the same period.

[2] Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, vol. i. p. 279.

[3] By the statutes of this guild, all young sculptors were obliged to go through a fixed course of study before they could be admitted as members.

During the thirteenth century, Siena gave abundant employment to her architectural sculptors in the enlargement of her Duomo, the construction of the abbey church and monastery of S. Galgano, and in the building of walls and fortifications, bridges, gates, and fountains. Many of them were also admitted to a share in the city government when it took a popular form, and were constantly mixed up in the ever-recurring feuds between the nobles and the people. At the end of the twelfth century, after throwing off the imperial yoke which Frederic Barbarossa had placed upon their necks, the people elected a podesta, or supreme magistrate, who was assisted in his government by rectors, representing the greater and lesser art guilds. The struggles which took place between the powerful oligarchy of the twenty-seven, formed of the ennobled descendants of those who had formerly held office in the State, and the twenty-four representatives of the people, ended in the victory of the latter, who proceeded to pass a law towards the end of the thirteenth century, by which the nobles were excluded from the magistracy and not even admitted to citizenship. To these causes of intramural discord was added the open state of war between the Ghibellines and Guelphs, in which the former were for the most part victorious at home, as well as abroad. In the latter half of the fourteenth century the government became thoroughly democratic, and took rapidly changing shapes, being carried on by a body of magistrates, varying in number, who in 1368 banished no less than 4,000 citizens, of whom so many were artists and artisans, that a great temporary check was given to art, and that decline brought about in its different branches which marked the close of the fourteenth century.

Effect of war, foreign and civil, upon art.

One of the first sculptors of the thirteenth century, whose name is something more than a name to us, is Ramo or Romano di Paganello, son of Paganello di Giovanni, architect and sculptor.[1]

Ramo di Paganello.

[1] Romagnuoli, *MS. cit.* vol. i. In the decree which recalled Ramo from banishment he is spoken of as 'Filius Paganelli de partibus ultramontanis.'

That he was held in great esteem at Siena, is proved by a decree
A.D. 1281. of the council general passed to recall him from the banishment to which he had been sentenced for having killed or maltreated his wife, in which he is spoken of as 'de bonis intalliatoribus, et scultoribus, et subtilioribus, in mundo qui inveniri possit.'[1] After his return he was appointed to work upon the Duomo, with the stipulation that he should not interfere with Giovanni Pisano,
A.D. 1288. then architect of the façade, although Giovanni was allowed to use Ramo and his workmen as he thought fit; and probably at this period made the statue of St. Francis, which stood over the door of the church of San Francesco. In 1296 he accompanied his fellow-citizen Lorenzo Maitani to Orvieto, and there presided over the sculptors who worked upon the Duomo, as 'capo loggia,' a post to which none but a man of remarkable talent would have been elected. Though we cannot suppose him to have worked upon the bas-reliefs of its façade, which were begun somewhat after his time, he doubtless aided in carving some of the great capitals of the pilasters of the Duomo.

Goro di Gregorio.

One of his contemporaries was Goro,[2] son of M. Gregorio, a Sienese sculptor,[3] whose most important work is the Urna, under the high altar of the Duomo di Massa di Maremma, which
A.D. 1323. contains the body of St. Cerbone, Bishop of Massa. It is sculptured with five bas-reliefs, representing, firstly, the bishop summoned by the messengers of Pope Virgilius; secondly drinking the milk of a hind which has just issued from an

Rumohr (*It. Forsch.* vol. ii. p. 143) thinks that Ramo's father was Rodolpho, called 'Il Tedesco,' one of the German artists who introduced their national style into Italy in the thirteenth century. He is, perhaps, the same artist who made the pulpit of S. Giovanni f. c. at Pistoja. Vide *Life* of G. Pisano, ch. ii.

[1] 'Intalliatoribus,' meaning those who worked upon ornaments and leaves; and 'subtilioribus,' as expressing those excessively minute works in the 'semi-tedesco' style, then in fashion, 1288 (Carpellini, MS. note to Romagnuoli).

[2] Not to be confounded with Niccola's pupil, Goro di Ciuccio Ciuti, a Florentine. Vide *Life* of G. Pisano, ch. ii. note 1.

[3] Over the door of the church of S. Giorgio, at Siena, was inscribed, 'MCCIX. Magister Gregorius me fecit' (Milanesi, *op. cit.* p. 154).

adjoining wood; thirdly, restoring some sick persons while on his way to Rome with the papal messengers; fourthly, being presented to the pope at Rome; and fifthly, as celebrating mass before the pope, who, by placing his foot upon that of the saint, is enabled to hear the angelic melodies which were wont to sound for him at such times, inaudible to other ears. Above the sarcophagus are twelve statuettes, one of which (that to the left) is remarkably well drawn and draped for the time. Generally rough in execution, these reliefs are not without expression and good drawing in parts. The horses are full of life, and the ornaments about the cornices are in good taste and delicately worked. Although after his return to Siena, Goro was much employed as a military architect, he found time to sculpture a bas-relief of the Baptism of our Lord for the Baptistry of Rosia (a castle situated in the neighbourhood of Siena), some statues for the façade of the Duomo, and the monument of the Petronio family which was erected in the subterranean chambers of the first cloister of the church of San Francesco.

A.D. 1329.

A.D. 1332.

Ramo and Goro were artists of purely local celebrity, but such was not the case with Lorenzo Maitani, son of the sculptor Maitano di Lorenzo, who raised an imperishable monument to his name in the beautiful Gothic cathedral at Orvieto. Being a man of rare genius, and thoroughly versed in architecture, sculpture, bronze-casting and mosaic, Maitani was eminently fitted to undertake such a work, and, thanks to the singular fortune which permitted him to watch over it from the day when the corner-stone was laid, to that which saw its last pinnacle pointed towards heaven, was enabled to carry it out with a unity of design unattainable by an artist less versatile than himself. At the time of the foundation of the building, no fewer than forty architects, sculptors and painters came from Florence and Siena, to settle at Orvieto, where they were formed into a corporate body, each division of which had a separate head, though all were subject to Lorenzo Maitani, the master of masters, who with his

Lorenzo Maitani.

The Duomo at Orvieto.

A.D. 1290.
A.D. 1330.

council pronounced judgment upon the models and drawings presented to them in the Loggia, a building set apart for the purpose near the Duomo. Troops of these artists were employed in procuring and working upon marbles at Rome, Siena, and Corneto, or in the summer at Albano and Castel Gandolfo, whence the prepared material was dragged by buffaloes, or sent up the Tiber in boats, to the neighbourhood of Orvieto.[1] By means of this large body of master workmen and hired labourers, and the voluntary aid of the Orvietans and country people, who on fête days assisted in transporting building materials to the
A.D. 1298. Piazza di Sta. Maria, the work advanced so rapidly, that eight years after the laying of the corner-stone, mass was celebrated by Pope Boniface VIII. within the walls, which had already risen to a considerable height.

Its façade. 'Artist-philosopher,' says Romagnuoli, 'Maitani adorned the base of the façade with scenes from the Old and New Testament, the foundations of our religion; above which, about the circular window, he placed the symbols of the evangelists, with the statues of the apostles and popes; and those of the angels, at a dangerous and almost aerial altitude.' The bas-reliefs, a precious monument of the joint talents of many of the best Sienese and Pisan sculptors of the time, are sculptured upon four great piers, which have been aptly called the Pier of Creation, the Pier of Prophecy, the Pier of Fulfilment, and the Pier of Judgment. On the lower part of the first is represented the
The Pier of Creation. creation of the sun, moon, and stars, of birds and beasts, and of man and woman; and on the upper, the temptation, the expulsion from Paradise, and the murder of Abel. Nothing can exceed the flower-like freshness and purity of the angels (see woodcut, p. 91), who with reverently bent heads, and folded arms or clasped hands, attend upon the Creator, and singly or in groups watch and reason together upon each successive act of

[1] *Lettere Sanesi*, p. 103.

creation; as, for instance, when the Lord walks in the garden and calls unto Adam, one of the two angels who follow Him points out our first parents, and explains the story of their sin, while the other with sad countenance grieves over their fall. It is God the Son[1] Who appears as the Creator; and Who, in literal inter-

ANGELS, FROM THE CREATION PIER, ORVIETO.

pretation of the words, 'And God created man in His own image, repeats in Adam His own oval-shaped head, high-set eyes, and parted flowing ringlets. (See Plate X.) We see in the broader forms, ruder execution, and different type of the figures in the

[1] 'In all religious art, as in all sound theology, Christ is the Creator, in the active and visible sense, on the First Day, as truly as He will be the Judge on the Last Day.' This doctrine is frequently asserted in the Scriptures —indirectly in the Old Testament, directly in the New (Ex. xxxiii. 20; St. John i. 18; Eph. iii. 9), and as a dogma in one of the Articles of the Nicene Creed (*History of Our Lord*, by Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, vol. i. p. 66).

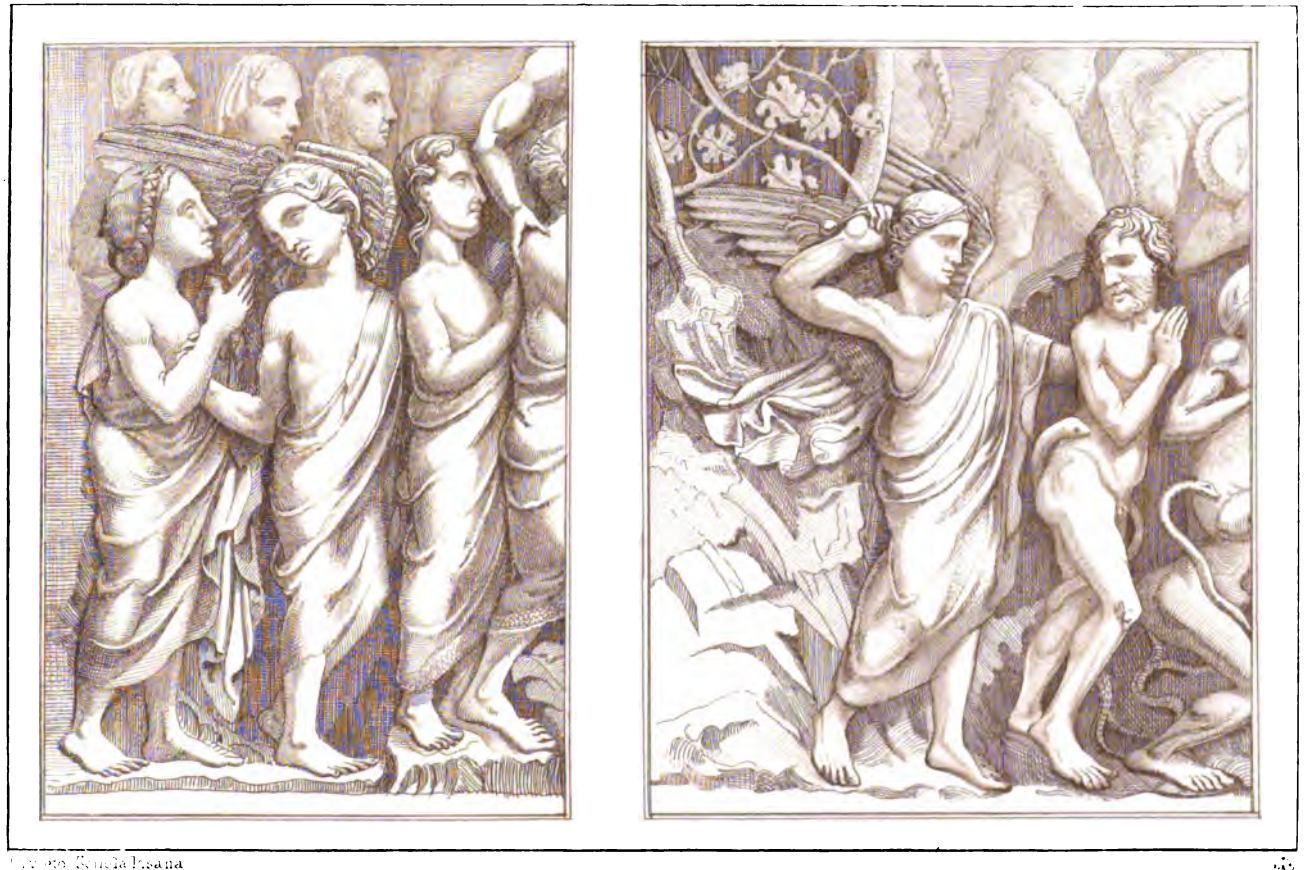
upper portion of this pier, that they were sculptured by another hand than those below, which are among the most beautiful productions of early Italian art. The Pier of Prophecy, which relates to the Mosaic dispensation, is evidently the work of many and inferior artists. The Pier of Fulfilment contains finer compositions than the Pier of Creation, but with greater technical perfection, its reliefs have less freshness and spontaneity, less of that lovely awkwardness which belongs only to the childhood of art, whose very defects are attractive. Among these, the Annunciation, the Nativity, and especially the Visitation, could hardly be surpassed in composition, expression or drapery. With exquisite sentiment, half-figures of angels are placed beside each relief of this pier, whose emotions, as they grieve over Christ's sufferings, or rejoice over His Resurrection and Ascension, are depicted in their countenances with great variety of expression. Like the chorus of a Greek tragedy, they serve as a running commentary upon the successive events in our Lord's life, and by giving us the key-note, keep our thoughts in harmony with each. Although the angels are less skilfully sculptured than the reliefs, their mutual relation is such that they must have been designed by one artist. In the fourth and last pier, the dead are seen rising from sarcophagi, whose heavy lids some strive to lift, while others, already free, look upwards to the blessed, who, guided by guardian angels, are pressing forward to the light Divine; while the condemned are urged forward, shrieking and weeping, by an angel of stern countenance, who holds them in a leash, and drives them by a scourge into the arms of demon skeletons, with serpents' tails, bats' wings, and jaws stretching from ear to ear. (See Plate XI.) From the base of each of the four piers rises a vine, symbolic of Christ, the True Vine, which enframes each separate relief with its branches, leaves, and tendrils. The task of identifying these sculptures as the work of particular artists is one of no small difficulty, since, working as a body for the adornment of God's temple, they regarded themselves merely as

The Pier of Prophecy.

The Pier of Fulfilment.

The Pier of Judgment.

Examination as to the probable authors of these sculptures.



Campo Santo Pisano

THE BLESSED AND THE DAMNED

instruments, nor cared by signing their work to advance their worldly fame, and render their act of service less precious in the eyes of Him 'Who seeth in secret.' What they did not do for themselves we cannot do for them, though it is possible to correct some misconceptions about authorship. That Niccola Pisano ever worked among them (as was long believed) is now known to be impossible, since he died about twelve years before the corner stone of the Duomo was laid;[1] and that his son Giovanni sculptured some of the reliefs is doubtful, as his name is not to be found in its carefully kept registers, an omission which could not have occurred in the case of so eminent an artist; while if it be true that they were not begun till 1320, the very year in which he died, his co-operation is manifestly impossible.[2] It cannot, however, be denied, that the angel who scourges the damned, in the relief of the Inferno, and all the reliefs upon the Pier of Creation, which appear to be by one and the same artist, somewhat resemble his works in style. Among the first sculptors who went to Orvieto was Arnolfo del Cambio; but as he left for Florence in the very same year in which the Duomo was founded, A.D. 1290. and remained there overwhelmed with work during the rest of his life, we do not see how he could have had a hand in them. Padre Marchesi attributes the greater part of these reliefs to Frà Guglielmo Agnelli,[3] the scholar of Niccola, who came to Orvieto at the same time with Arnolfo, and remained there until 1304, but his well-known works at Bologna and Pisa are so far inferior to them that we cannot concur in this opinion. Lorenzo Maitani was so constantly occupied in superintending the many workmen employed at Orvieto, and those who were

[1] Vasari, who states it, must have confounded Niccola Pisano with the Sienese sculptor, Niccola Nuti or Nuzii, who worked at Orvieto in 1321 (Della Valle. *St. del Duomo*, p. 99, and *Doc. XII.* p. 264).

[2] Romagnuoli (MS. *cit.*) says, the greater part of the reliefs were sculptured between 1321 and 1325.

[3] Della Valle, *Doc. X.* p. 253, A.D. 1294.

working for the Duòmo elsewhere, that he could not have found time to sculpture or even design these reliefs; and we cannot form any idea of his capacity to do so from the bronze symbols of the Evangelists, above the base of the façade, which he cast in the
A.D. 1330. last year of his life,[1] nor from the Madonna and Child seated beneath a canopy sustained by four angels, over the great doorway, which has been attributed to Maitani, but was more probably
A.D. 1325. designed and cast by Maestro Buzio di Biaggio.[2] The Madonna is rounder in form than the Pisan Madonnas, and the Child's face far sweeter and more natural in expression. Even this rapid examination will show how impossible it is to decide upon the claims of individual artists to the honour of having conceived or executed various portions of these bas-reliefs.

Agostino and Agnolo.

Among the Sienese sculptors who were attached to the Duomo at Orvieto, were Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura, who have been erroneously supposed to be brothers.[3] Both were scholars of Giovanni Pisano; and Agnolo assisted his
A.D. 1284. master in building the façade of the Duomo at Siena.[4] The
A.D. 1327. great painter Giotto passed through Orvieto (on his way to Naples) to see the works then in progress about the cathedral;

[1] Maitani had a son named Vitale, who was an architect and capo maestro of the Duomo at Orvieto, in 1330. Nothing more is known of Lorenzo Maitani, excepting that he went to Perugia to superintend the erection of the Duomo. An absurd story was long current amongst the people of Orvieto, that after he had designed their cathedral, the directors of the work caused his eyes to be put out, lest he should design another like or superior to it. His last descendant, Margherita Maitani, who died at Orvieto about a century after him, left her property to the cathedral.

[2] Della Valle, *op. cit. Doc. XXIII.* p. 271. A Buzio von Stefano is mentioned in the records of the cathedral with four other German artists, viz. Jakob and Paul von Baden, Johann Sohn, and Johann Ganzi.

[3] Vasari says they were both born soon after 1360: a more than questionable date, as, if true, they must have made their first works when they were seventy years old.

[4] Agostino never worked there, neither did the two build the Baptistry façade, for which Giacomo del Pellicciajo gave the design in 1382 (Carpellini, MS. note to Romagnuoli).

and being struck with the talent displayed by Agostino and Agnolo,[1] recommended Piero Saccone di Pietramala to give them the commission for a monument to his brother, Guido Tarlati, formerly Bishop of Arezzo, which he proposed to erect in the Duomo of that city. The history of a prelate[2] who, leaving mass and mitre, often donned the helmet, and led his troops in person to the battle-field, offered a rich series of subjects for sculptural treatment, of which our artists wisely availed themselves. Adopting the Pisan type, they placed the sarcophagus, with its recumbent effigy exposed to view by curtain-drawing angels, under a lofty Gothic canopy, and with novel effect disposed below it sixteen bas-reliefs, in which they represented the sieges and battles of Bishop Tarlati, with much spirit and action.[3] Though rudely sculptured, many of them are extremely well composed, and show feeling and power of expression. For instance, in that inscribed Caprera, there is an excellent group of knights on horseback entering a walled city, and in that which represents Tarlati's death, the figures of the attendants, one of whom throws out his arms in grief, while another tears his hair in despair, are dramatically conceived. The Giottesque treatment visible throughout is proof of the influence of Giotto upon these artists, though it does not

Bishop Guido Tarlati.

His monument at Arezzo.

No. XII.

[1] According to Romagnuoli, Agostino was then at work upon the Prophet statues of the Orvieto cathedral façade. The two artists also sculptured the ornament of the wheel window. Agostino's name occurs in the annals of the year 1339, while that of Agnolo is not mentioned. See Della Valle, *Doc. XXXVI.* p. 278.

[2] This military prince-bishop was the deposed and excommunicated prelate who placed the iron crown of Lombardy upon the head of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, in the cathedral of Milan, May 30, 1327. Despite this proof of allegiance, Tarlati lost the emperor's favour, a few months later, through Castruccio's insinuations that he was carrying on intrigues with the Florentines, which so irritated Tarlati that, having left the emperor at Ripafratta, he returned to the castle of Montenero in the Maremma, where he soon after died, confessing his sins against the Church, acknowledging Pope John XXII., and declaring Louis of Bavaria to be a rightly excommunicated heretic.

[3] See Appendix, letter A, for the subjects of these reliefs.

warrant Vasari's statement that he designed them.[1] Our two artists, who were often employed as architects in their native city, designed the Palazzo Pubblico[2] so much to the satisfaction of the magistrates, that they were appointed to superintend all public edifices, to build the church and convent of San Francesco, that of Santa Maria in the Piazza Manetti, and the Roman and Tufi gates.[3] They both died about the middle of the century. Agostino left two sons—Domenico, a goldsmith, and Giovanni, a sculptor—both of whom were attached to the Duomo as capomastri.[4]

Tino di Camaino.

The next Sienese sculptor who claims our notice is Lino or Tino di Camaino,[5] the scholar of Giovanni Pisano, who in the year 1315 was commissioned to make the tomb of the Emperor Henry VII. for the Duomo at Pisa, now in the Campo Santo.[6]

Tomb of Henry VII. at Pisa.

Upon a sarcophagus of white marble lies the effigy of the emperor, robed in an imperial mantle decorated with the lions and eagles of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, his hands crossed

[1] The monument is dated 1330, and signed.

[2] Begun in 1246 as a dogana, and completed in 1308. Ricci says, they built all the upper portion of this palace (vol. ii. p. 130).

[3] The monument of Gastone della Torri, Patriarch of Aquileia (M. 1317), in the cloisters of Santa Croce at Florence, is ascribed to Agostino by Gozzini (*Mon. Sep. della Toscano*, plate 27).

[4] A bas-relief, by Giovanni di Agostino, representing the Virgin and Child seated under a canopy, with two Giottesque-looking angels holding vases of flowers, is preserved in the oratory of San Bernardino at Siena.

[5] Son of Camaius di Crescentius or Crescenzio di Diotisalvi, flourished 1298–1338; attached to the Duomo at Siena from 1300–1338; made syndic in 1305; appointed, with others, to mark out the new walls in 1330 (Milanesi, *Doc. dell' Arte Sanese*, vol. i. pp. 181 *et seq.*; Ciampi, *Not. Ined.* p. 48, *Doc. VI.*).

[6] It first stood in the tribune of the Duomo, whence it was moved to the chapel of San Ranieri (A.D. 1494), and then (1727) set up over the door leading to the sacristy. Finally, in 1830, it was taken to the Campo Santo (*Neue Römische Briefe*, vol. i. p. 116). That it was originally painted, we know by the mention of materials for colour, in the list of expenses incurred for the tomb. Vide Ciampi, *Not. Ind.* p. 126; see Appendix to Chapter III. letter B.

upon his breast, and his uncovered head, which is characteristic and full of repose, resting upon a cushion. This sarcophagus, adorned in front with eleven short and clumsy, but not ill-draped, figures of saints, while at each end stand mourning genii, rests upon a double basement; the upper one bears a long inscription recording the translation of his remains, followed by a concourse of more than three thousand persons, from the castle of Suvareto in the Maremma, where they had been temporarily deposited. A.D. 1317.

Urged by the for once united Guelphs and Ghibellines, Henry of Luxemburg had descended into Italy, to reassert the long-dormant rights of the German emperors; to be greeted by Dante who implored him to give peace to Italy by uniting her under himself;[1] to be received with acclamation in Lombardy, and crowned with the iron crown at Milan. All went smoothly, till his severe measures alienated the Guelphs, who induced Florence and the cities in their interest to close their gates upon him, but Pisa, ever faithful to the German emperors, welcomed and aided him with her troops and treasure, as he pushed on to Rome, which he entered, after gaining a battle over the Colonna and Prince John of Naples near the Ponte Molle. Although he succeeded in making himself master of the Lateran Basilica and the Cœlian Hill, he could not drive his enemies out of the Leonine City, and was finally obliged to content himself with being crowned at the Lateran by a cardinal whom Pope Clement V. had sent from Avignon to represent him at the ceremony. A few months later he returned to Tuscany, and having skilfully eluded a body of troops, sent to detain him at Incisa, crossed the mountains in safety, and suddenly appeared in the Val d'Arno,

Henry VII. A.D. 1311.

A.D. 1312.

June 29, 1312.

September. 1312.

[1] *De Monarchia*, written to prove that monarchy is necessary for the well-being of the world; that its exercise belongs by right to the Romans, and, consequently, to the king of the Romans, i.e. the emperor; and, lastly, that the monarch's authority comes to him from God, and not from the pope. See also Epistole 5, 6, 7, addressed to the emperor, dated April, 1311. Vide Appendix, letter B.

to the great terror of the Florentines, who naturally supposed that their soldiers had been cut to pieces. Instead of boldly entering the city gates, which in the first moments of confusion had been left open, Henry, conscious of his weakness, lost much time in ravaging the surrounding country, and when he at last advanced to the attack, found the walls bravely defended by the Florentines led by Bishop Antonio d'Orso, who so inspired his fellow-citizens by his gallant bearing that they forced the emperor to retire and give up the attempt. In the following year he left Pisa, to make war against King Robert of Naples, but while encamped in the plain of Monte Aperto, was seized with a sudden illness, which forced him to retire to Buonconvento, where his speedy death of a fever gave rise to the suspicion that poison had been administered to him in the holy wafer by a Dominican monk.[1]

October 31, 1312.

Aug. 13, 1313.

Bishop Antonio d'Orso.

Tino also made the monument to the brave Bishop Antonio d'Orso, which stands in the right aisle of the Duomo at Florence. It consists of a sarcophagus, on the top of which sits the bishop, clad in his ecclesiastical robes, with a mitre upon his head, and his hands crossed upon his breast. On the front is a bas-relief representing a youth kneeling before our Lord, Who is surrounded by angels, and by several draped figures.[2] Another monument attributed to Tino is that of Bishop Felice Alliotti, in Sta. Maria Novella, close by the Rucellai Chapel. The sarcophagus is supported upon Gothic arches, adorned with a bas-relief of Christ between the Virgin and St. John, while two angels, one of whom holds a censer in his hand, watch over the deceased, who reposes beneath a Gothic canopy.[3] If he made this tomb,

Other works by Tino.

[1] Ranieri, *Ist. Pisani*, part i. p. 682, *Arch. St. It.*; Sismondi, vol. ii. pp. 430 *et seq.*; *Scipione Ammirato*, vol. i. part i. pp. 24, 25. In the *Neue Römische Briefe*, vol. i. p. 116, it is said that he died of fever; and in the *St. degli Italiani di* C. Cantu, vol. ii. p. 739: 'Che fosse avvelanato nell' ostia è ciancia smentita dal silenzio de' contemporanei.'

[2] Engraved by Lasinio, in the *Chiesa Metropolitana*. The tomb was commissioned by Fco. di Barberini, the bishop's testamentary executor.

[3] Aliotti was made Bishop of Florence in 1312, and died in 1336. 'Linius

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it must have been some time before the prelate's death, as they both died in the same year, and we know that Tino spent the last thirteen years of his life at Naples, from the Will of Maria, widow of Charles II. (who died in 1323), in which he is appointed, with Maestro Gerardus di Sermona, to erect her monument in the church of Sta. Maria Domna Regina,[1] which she reconstructed with the adjoining convent, where she passed her years of widowhood. Her tomb, erroneously attributed by Neapolitan writers to Masuccio II., is situated in the nuns' chapel, and is visible only through a grating; it consists of an Arca on which the queen lies, overshadowed by a Gothic canopy, and watched over by curtain-drawing angels, sure sign of Pisan influence. In front of the Arca, which is supported by four angel-caryatides, are seven figures of saints in relief, and above are two saints, and a Madonna and Child. Tino is again mentioned, in a letter written by Duke Charles of Calabria, as one of the architects selected to build the Carthusian cloister of San Martino; and, four years later, in another, written by King Robert to his chamberlain (the Knight Giovanni de Haya), expressing his wish to build a palace, 'pro habilitate personæ nostræ,' on the top of Mount Erasmus, of which Tino da Siena and Francesco di Vico were named joint architects. Tino must have died before July 11, 1336, as on that day 'Magister Athanasius Primarius di Napoli' was appointed royal architect in room of 'quondam Tino da Siena.'

Dated May 4, 1325.

A.D. 1329.

Contemporaneously with Tino, flourished Maestro Gano, said

Maestro Gano.

Sanese facie' (*sic*) is inscribed upon the monument. Tino worked in the Opera di S. Giovanni at Florence, but upon what is not known; also at Pisa, in the Duomo, where he built the Incoronata Chapel, and for which he made a baptismal font with bas-reliefs, now no longer extant. In 1319–20 he was capo maestro of the Duomo at Siena (Milanesi, *Doc. San.* vol. i. p. 185).

[1] She left 154 oz. to be thus expended (H. G. Schultz, *Denkmaler*, etc. pp. 79, 139, 140, 251; *Doc. CCCLXVII.* vol. iv. pp. 137, 145).

to have been a scholar of Agostino and Agnolo Sanesi, who made the tombs of Bishop Tommaso di Andrea, and Raniero Porrina, in the collegiate church at Casole.[1] He was a realist who copied nature simply and without pretension, as we see in the statue of Porrina, which shows us the man as he looked in life, squarely planted upon both feet, dressed after the fashion of his day in a tight under-garment, over which his 'lucco' or mantle falls in long straight folds, gathered in his left hand, while under his right arm he holds a book. He has a square cap upon his head, and a sword by his side, and looks every inch the powerful citizen he was, a sturdy upholder of the Ghibelline cause, and devoted partisan of the Emperor Henry VII. The monument of Bishop Tommaso di Andrea,[2] in which the effigy of the deceased lies straight upon its back, the hands crossed upon the breast, and a peacefully sleeping expression in the face, is treated with equal breadth. Two small genii kneel at the head and feet of the figure, and angels hold up a curtain behind it. It is placed beneath a Gothic arch, whose central space was once adorned with a fresco by Pietro Lorenzetti, and whose pediment contains a half-figure of Christ. Upon a scroll in the bishop's left hand are inscribed these words, 'In me, O passer, recognise what thou wilt shortly become. Whilst I was alive as thou art, I could do the work of a man; now turned to dust, I am powerless; so wilt thou be, when thou art buried; therefore beware, and whilst thou livest live wisely.'

Died after A.D. 1314.

Other monuments attributed to Gano,[3] but which look rather like some scholar of Giovanni Pisano, are those of Cardinal Petroni in the Duomo at Siena, and of Ugo Causaronti, in the Pieve delle Serre at Rapolano. The statue belonging to this

[1] A small town, about twenty miles from Siena.

[2] He was made Bishop of Pistoja in 1283, and afterwards collector and commissary for Pope Nicholas IV., in Tuscany. He died in 1303.

[3] By Romagnuoli, who also ascribes to Gano that of Nicolo Aringhieri, in the university at Siena.

monument (which was sculptured in 1346, and is said to be the last work of Gano) was removed to the outside of the church by the bishop, because the country people worshipped it as that of a saint.

Antonio Brunaccio was a sculptor of this period, who took an active part in the revolutions in Siena, and was one of the eighteen who, despite the opposition of Malatesta, imperial vicar of Charles IV., expelled the nine who composed the government; this expulsion was followed by a furious street battle, caused by the attempt of the emperor to restore the nine to power.[1] Antonio Brunaccio.

Of M. Cellino di Nese, Sienese architect and sculptor, we only know that he was called to Pistoja to complete the Baptistry, and while residing there sculptured, after a design furnished by an unknown Sienese sculptor,[2] the monument of the Poet Guittone Sinibaldi, better known as Messer Cino, the friend of Dante, who like him was driven into exile, and forced, as he says in one of his sonnets, Cellino di Nese. A.D. 1334. A.D. 1337. Tomb of Messer Cino di Pistoja.

a vagar per lo mondo.

His monument stands in the Duomo, and consists of a Gothic canopy supported upon twisted columns, under which Messer Cino sits, clad in professorial robes, instructing several of his

[1] Whether Brunaccio led an especially irreligious life, we are not told; but it would seem that St. Catherine was greatly anxious about the state of his soul, from the long and urgent appeal which she addressed to him, to forsake the error of his ways and turn to Christ. 'I desire,' she says, 'to see you joined in love to Our Saviour, so that you may become pure, and be divested of that passion which causes you to suffer so greatly. Bathe yourself in the blood of Christ crucified, and commence a new life, with the hope that your sins may be consumed in the blood and fire of His love. I wish to take your sins upon myself, and wash them out with tears and prayers in the fire of Divine charity, and do penance for you. Resist not the Holy Spirit which calls you. I say no more. Rest in the holy and sweet love of God' (Romagnuoli, *op. cit.* MS.). A notice of payment to Antonio di Brunaccio, for marbles furnished by him for the pavement of the Duomo in 1356, is interesting, as the first mention made of that unique and beautiful work (Dr. Carpellini, MS. notes to Romagnuoli).

[2] 'Secondo un disegnamento che egli medesimo a veduto e aviallo apo noi,

disciples, among whom appears his favourite pupil, Bartolo di Sassoferrato, and the lady of his love, Selvaggia Vergiolesi. In the bas-relief on the front of the sarcophagus, upon which this group is placed, Messer Cino is again represented in the midst of his scholars, who are formally ranged on each side of him, in the style common to all professorial monuments of the time. As there is but little life in any of the figures, and little skill in grouping, it interests us less on account of its artistic merit, than as the resting-place of a man who was looked upon by Dante as among those who brought Italian poetry to perfection, and to whom Petrarch acknowledged great obligations in regard to the formation of his own exquisite style. Born at Pistoja in the year 1272, this eminent man[1] was a scholar of the grammarian Francesco da Colle, and studied jurisprudence under Dino da Mugello at Bologna. Having warmly espoused the cause of the Bianchi, he was obliged to follow his chief, Filippo Vergiolesi, when the Neri expelled the Bianchi from the city; but as he was deeply enamoured of Filippo's daughter, the beautiful Selvaggia, he must have found this exile deprived of its bitterness until death snatched her away, and left him to seek consolation in singing her praises in sonnets, as Dante sang those of Beatrice, Petrarch those of Laura, and Boccaccio those of Fiammetta. After the death of Selvaggia, he went to study in the university of Paris, and on his return, revisited Sambuco, a town on the confines of Lombardy, to weep over the grave of her, 'che viva o morta gli dovea tor pace.'[2] He then
A.D. 1314. settled at Bologna, where he received a crown of laurel for his learned commentaries on the Codex of Justinian. Twenty-two

il quale fece il maestro . . . . da Siena.' Cicognara thinks that this maestro was Goro; Ciampi suggests Agostino or Agnolo Sanesi. Concerning the appointment of Cellino di Nese to finish the Baptistry at Pistoja, see *Doc. IV.* (Ciampi, *Not. Ined.* p. 123).

[1] Vide Seb. Ciampi, *Vita di Messer Cino.* Pistoja, 1803.

[2] Dante's letter to Cino, written between 1307 and 1319 (duration of Cino's exile), proves, as does the testimony of his biographers, that the Pistojan poet

years later, he returned to Pistoja, and soon after died, regretted by his fellow-citizens, who sought by posthumous honours to make amends for the long wanderings to which their factious quarrels had condemned him.

State of sculpture at Siena in the fourteenth century.

Among the many sculptors who lived at Siena during the fourteenth century, few attained celebrity, especially during its latter half, which was marked by intestine quarrels, ending in the exile of many of the most able artists, which reduced art, in all its branches, to a very low ebb. We see evidence of this in the mediocre statues of the Apostles which fill the tabernacles of the Capella della Piazza, made between 1376 and 1384, by Lando di Stefano, Bartolomeo di Tommè, called Pizzino, Mariano di Angelo Romanelli, Giovanni di Cecco, and Matteo di Ambrogio, called Sappa;[1] as well as in the holy-water vase of the Duomo at Orvieto, made by Lucca di Giovanni, and in the baptismal font opposite, sculptured, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, by two Sienese and two Florentine artists, after the design of Pietro di Giovanni da Friburg.[2] Indeed, the Sienese school of sculpture seemed dying out altogether, when Giacomo della Quercia, who was to give it new life, was born at Siena.[3] He was the son of a goldsmith named Pietro d' Angelo di Guarnerio; and studied the goldsmith's art under his father, and sculpture under Luca di Giovanni.[4] He brought himself into notice, at the age of nineteen,

Giacomo della Quercia. N. 1371.

fell in love with many other women after Selvaggia's death, and was fickle and inconstant in his new passion. Vide *Epistola IV.* 'Exulanti Pistoriense,' and the sonnet beginning 'Io mio credea,' etc. See Appendix, letter C. *Il Convito e le Epistole*, pp. 432, 437, ed. Barbera, 1862. Petrarch wrote a sonnet upon the death of Cino, beginning, 'Piangete, donne, e con voi pianga amore,' etc.

[1] Milanesi, *Siena e il suo Territorio*, p. 155.

[2] Valentino di Paolo, Matteo di Nobili, Pietro di Vanni, and Giacomo di Pietro Guidi.

[3] His surname of Quercia was derived either from Quercia Grossa, a castle near the walls of Siena, built in 1271 ; or from Guerco, or Guerchio, a popular word signifying workman (Dr. Carpellini, MS. notes to Romagnuoli).

[4] Della Valle supposes, that Goro Sanese was Quercia's master (*Lett. San.* vol. ii. p. 149, note 1).

by an equestrian statue of wood covered with cloth painted in imitation of marble, made for the funeral obsequies of the famous Sienese captain Azzo Ubaldini,[1] but was not destined to follow up this success in his native city until a later period of his career, for when his patron Orlando Malevolti and many other patriots refused to consent to its disgraceful surrender into the hands of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, and was driven with them into exile, Quercia, although not forced to do so, found it better to leave home.[2] We know nothing of him for the next nine or ten years, after which we find him mentioned as one of the competitors for the gate of the Baptistry at Florence, in which trial of skill his model, though considered wanting in delicacy of handling, was praised for good drawing and skilful casting, and judged to stand next in merit to those of Ghiberti and Brunelleschi.

A.D. 1391—1392.

A.D. 1401.

It was at this time that he sculptured a bas-relief,[3] which fills a gable over one of the side-doors of the Duomo, representing the Madonna, 'della Cintola' in a mandorla supported by angels; in one corner we see a bear climbing a pear-tree, by which, referring to an old proverb, 'Dar le pere in guardia all orsa (ciò è fidarsi di chi non si deve),' Quercia has been supposed to allude to his own folly in submitting his trial plate to the judgment of men who were incapable of appreciating it.

A.D. 1408.

From Florence, Quercia went to Ferrara, where he sculptured a Madonna and Child in relief,[4] and the monument of a Dr. Vera, which, after the destruction of the church of S. Nicholas, where it stood, was purchased by Annibale Bentivoglio, and set up in the church of San Giacomo Maggiore at Bologna, in memory of

[1] Died in 1390, while conducting an expedition against the Florentines.

[2] Vasari says, Quercia made some statues of prophets for the Duomo at this time; but if he ever did so, it must have been at a later date, as his name does not appear in the archives until after 1417, and he left Siena soon after 1391.

[3] Ugugieri (*Pompe Sanesi*, vol. ii. p. 344) and Vasari (vol. iii. p. 25, notes 2 and 3) assign this relief to Quercia. Baldinucci says, it was sculptured by Donatello's pupil, Nanni di Banco.

[4] Removed from the Duomo to the Capitolo dei Canonici.

his father. It consists of the recumbent effigy so placed on an inclined plane, that although set high up against the wall, every part of the figure is visible from below; a massive cornice, on which stand statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul; and four figures of Force, Prudence, Temperance, and Faith. The professorial bas-relief in the front of the sarcophagus was added after Quercia's day, to suit the monument to its new uses, for Antonio Bentivoglio was an eminent jurist, as well as politician and soldier. As Lord of Bologna, his abilities rendered him dangerous in the eyes of Pope Martin V., who therefore removed him to a safe distance, and employed him in a military capacity. Fifteen years later, trusting to a decree issued by the Bishop of Concordia, legate of Eugenius IV., allowing all exiles to return home, he came to Bologna, but within a month he and his friend Zambeccari were seized by the legate's guard as they left the chapel where they had attended mass, and, without time for confession and absolution, were beheaded in the courtyard of the Bentivoglio Palace. Their bodies were buried without funeral rites, and the atrocious act was justified on the plea of their too great influence over their fellow-citizens.[1]

Antonio Bentivoglio.

While resident at Ferrara, Quercia was appointed by the Signory of Siena to make a fountain for the great piazza of their city. At the end of the twelfth century, when that called Fontebranda was constructed outside the walls, the project of bringing water to supply one within the city was started, but it was not until the middle of the fourteenth century that the conduits for this purpose were constructed, and the delighted people saw water issue in the piazza. Overjoyed at this, they called their new fountain Fonte Gaja, and set over it a very beautiful antique statue of Venus, supposed to be the work of Lysippus, which had been dug up at Siena, many years before.[2] After fourteen years,

Fonte Gaja.

A.D. 1343.

A.D. 1317.

[1] Eletta dei monumenti di Bologna (Sismondi, *Rep. It.* vol. iv. p. 491).

[2] Ghiberti, in his third Commentary, tells us, that he saw a drawing made of it by the painter Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and relates the story of its overthrow.

during which the city had been more than usually convulsed
Nov. 7. 1357. with factious tumults, a member of the council of twelve rose, and, addressing his fellows, declared that these calamities were sent upon them because they had exposed heathen idols to public veneration, and that they ought to remove the statue of a false divinity, and, after breaking it in pieces, should bury it in the Florentine territory, with the hope of transferring their own misfortunes to their adversaries. 'Detto fù fatto,' the statue was taken down and carried far from the city to satisfy the superstitious populace. Fonte Gaja was thus left deprived of its sole ornament, until Giacomo della Quercia undertook to decorate it in a more Christian fashion.[1] In his contract, he promised to furnish a design which was to be exposed for public approval in the Sala del Consiglio, to find his own materials, select his assistants for its construction, and consented to receive in final payment the sum of 2,320 florins.[2] The design, accepted by the Signory, and executed by Quercia,[3] who thence took the name of Jacopo della Fonte, consisted of a three-sided marble parapet; the central and longest was divided into nine niches, containing statues of the Madonna and Child, and the seven theological virtues, while the other two were decorated with bas-reliefs representing the creation of Adam, and the expulsion from Paradise. Below, from the surface of the basin, rose marine animals bearing children on their backs, and wolves, and dolphins, from whose mouths issued jets of water. Though now sadly mutilated and worn by time, its novelty of

[1] First contract, dated Jan. 22, 1409; second contract, 1412, in which year it was commenced. Date of final quittance, Oct. 20, 1419. Vide *Doc. dell' Arte Sanesi*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 51, No. xxxii.; also Romagnuoli and Carpellini.

[2] The florin, or zecchino, was always of gold; 2,320 florins equal 4,640 Francescani, or 9,744 lire Toscane.

[3] Tizio says, Quercia bound himself to do the whole work with his own hands; but this seems impossible, as he had five able assistants, who did much of it for him: namely, Francesco Valdambrini, Sano di Matteo, Paolo di Minella, Nanni da Lucca, and Bastino di Corso. See Appendix to this chapter for notice of these sculptors.

design and beauty of general effect make Fonte Gaja one of the model fountains of the world.[1] Its statues have the grace of line characteristic of Quercia's best works, and their draperies fall in those peculiarly heavy snake-like folds which he so much affected. But Quercia was neither a purist nor a classical sculptor; he wanted the delicate refinement and elegance of the great Florentine masters, and concealed his defects by a richness of drapery and voluptuousness of form which sometimes trenched upon coarseness. The construction of Fonte Gaja was constantly interrupted by Quercia's occupations at Lucca, where he had simultaneously undertaken a work of importance. Highly A.D. 1413. incensed at his continued absence, the Sienese commissioners threatened to appoint some one else in his place; and after sending no less than five intimations to this effect during the space of eight months, ordered the commissary of justice to make him feel the weight of their displeasure, and finally bound him to complete their fountain within a fixed time, under a penalty of 300 florins. Despite these signs of irritation, he was honoured and loved in his native city as a modest and polite man, 'in somma una coppa d'oro, un savio e buon uomo.' The work which carried him to Lucca was a monument to Ilaria, second wife of Paolo Guinigi, Ilaria del Carretto. lord of that city, and daughter of Charles, Marquis of Carretto, of which a portion only exists in the Duomo, namely, the recumbent effigy of Ilaria, and a marble slab sculptured in relief with children bearing festoons,[2] originally belonging to its base. 'I name it,' says Mr. Ruskin,[3] 'not as more beautiful or perfect than other examples of the same period, but as furnishing an instance of the exact and right mean between the rigidity and rudeness of the earlier monumental effigies, and the morbid imitations of life, sleep, or death, of which the fashion has taken place in modern times.

[1] The fountain is now being made anew, after the old model, by the Sienese sculptor, Tito Sarocchi.

[2] Its duplicate is in the Uffizi gallery.

[3] *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. ch. vii. upon 'Repose.'

She is lying on a simple couch, with a hound at her feet (emblem of conjugal fidelity), not on the side, but with the head laid straight and simply on the hard pillow, in which, let it be observed, there is no effort at deceptive imitation of pressure. It is understood as a pillow, but not to be mistaken for one. The hair is bound up in a flat braid over the fair brow, the sweet and arched eyes are closed, the tenderness of the loving lips is set and quiet; there is that about them which forbids breath; something which is not death nor sleep, but the pure image of both. The hands are not lifted in prayer, neither folded; but the arms are laid at length upon the body, and the hands cross as they fall. The feet are hidden by the drapery, and the forms of the limbs are concealed, but not their tenderness.'

Paolo Guinigi.

Not many years after Quercia sculptured this monument, Paolo Guinigi was driven from Lucca, and upon it, as upon everything which recalled his detested name, the people wreaked their vengeance, remembering how, backed by Gian Galeazzo Visconti, he had taken advantage of the moment when they were weakened and decimated by the plague, to fix his yoke upon their necks; he and his sons were sent as prisoners to Francesco Sforza, who confined them at Pavia, where he soon after died broken-hearted; his palace was given up to pillage by Antonio Petrucci, a Sienese captain, who had been the chief agent in his overthrow; his horses and arms were sent as presents to Sforza, and his gold and silver appropriated to the public use.[1]

A.D. 1416.

Quercia also sculptured, at Lucca, a Gothic altar-piece in the church of San Frediano at Lucca, at the expense of Federigo di Trenta and his wife, whose monumental slabs are let into the pavement below. Its niches contain statues of the Madonna and Child, SS. Sebastian, Jerome, and Lucia, in a somewhat tormented and 'baroque' style; its predella has several bas-reliefs, of which that of St. Catherine of Alexandria (see tailpiece to this

[1] Tommasi, *St. di Lucca, Arch. St. It.* vol. x. pp. 295–97; Mazzarosa, *St. di Lucca,* vol. iii. lib. v. p. 260; Vasari, vol. iii. p. 21, note 4.

G. della Quercia sc.

THE CREATION OF EVE

chapter) and that representing the expulsion of a demon from the body of a child, are delicately sculptured and truly charming, though the rest are not a little extravagant and mannered. Quercia again showed, in a bronze bas-relief made for the font of the Baptistry at Siena, that he was not to be depended upon by his employers. He received the commission for this and a companion relief in 1416,[1] but had not fulfilled it twelve years later, as we learn through a letter addressed to him at Bologna, in which he is threatened with a fine of 100 lire if he does not return and remain at Siena until he has finished them. So low were his funds at this time, that he was unable to pay eight lire to the courier who brought him this letter, and was obliged in his answer to ask the Signory to advance that small sum on the money which would be eventually due to him. After his return to Siena, at the end of the year, he addressed a 'supplica' to the Corporation, in which he prayed for a remission of the fine, on the ground that he had been prevented by his engagements at Bologna from returning sooner, and that, when he finally made an attempt to do so, he had been forcibly detained by the 'operai' of San Petronius. It was not till 1430 that he completed one of the bas-reliefs representing the calling of St. Joachim, in which is an excellent group formed by the attentive saint, the earnest angel, and several persons who stand near them; but as he never found time to make the second relief, it was eventually assigned to Donatello.

Bas-relief by Quercia in the font of the Baptistry at Siena.

A.D. 1428.

Five years before this, he had again been called to Bologna to sculpture fifteen bas-reliefs for the great doorway of the Basilica of St. Petronius,[2] whose subjects, taken from the Book of Genesis, relate to the period between the creation of Adam and the Deluge. Those representing the creation of Eve (see Plate XII.) and

A.D. 1425.

Bas-reliefs at St. Petronius'.

[1] April 16, 1416. These bronze reliefs were to be gilded at the artist's expense, and he was to receive 180 florins for each.

[2] He was called to Bologna in 1425 by Archbishop Arli, who offered him 3,600 golden florins to furnish the designs for these reliefs and superintend their execution.

the expulsion from Paradise, are almost identical in treatment with the frescoes of the same subject painted by Raphael in the Vatican loggia, and by Michael Angelo in the ceiling of the Sistine chapel. As we know that Michael Angelo twice visited Bologna,[1] and that his second visit took place only one year before he commenced the frescoes of the Sistine chapel, we may fairly suppose that Quercia's works had made a strong impression upon him; nor can we wonder at this, since there is so evident an affinity between the two artists, that Quercia has been called the precursor of Buonarotti. It is not only in single figures,[2] but also in the general style of the reliefs which represent the creation of Eve, the expulsion from Paradise, and Eve spinning while her two children cling about her knees, that we feel between these two great men a similarity, and the resemblance which is not confined to their works, but extends also to their lives; for as Michael Angelo had his 'Tragedia del Sepolcro,' so had Quercia his 'Tragedia della Porta.' Broken contracts and endless money difficulties wore out the lives of both; and in Quercia's case the latter became so unbearable that he fled to Parma, whence he wrote to his employers at Bologna, to express the hope that 'reason would be heard when passion and envy had ceased to speak,'[3] adding that he had retired to a safe distance, trusting, thence to obtain justice; that he had no desire to shirk his duty, but should not return until they confirmed his original contract. At the same time he was constantly annoyed by letters from the Sienese magistrates, exhorting him to return home, and for his own honour, and the advancement of the cathedral, to devote himself thenceforward to the duties of his office, as operajo;

A.D. 1494 and 1507.

[1] Michael Angelo is said to have made drawings of Quercia's bas-reliefs during his first visit to Bologna.

[2] See, for example, the figure of God the Father, in the bas-relief representing the Creation of Eve, Plate XII.

[3] *Doc. Sanesi*, vol. ii.; *Doc. CXXIX* p. 168.

'God knows,' he writes, 'how many complaints and murmurs I have to bear from my countrymen.'[1]

While resident at Bologna, Quercia sculptured a relief, now in the museum of the university, representing the Madonna and Child seated under a Gothic arch, in the pointed gable of which three angels are grouped together in somewhat affected attitudes. The heads of the Madonna and Child are charming in expression, but their draperies are cumbrous and mannered. The last three years of his life were principally spent at Siena, where he held the office of Operajo del Duomo, and the rank of Cavaliere, in working upon statues for the Loggia di San Paolo and the Cappella di Piazza del Campo, which he did not live to finish. In 1435 he obtained permission to revisit Bologna, and although he yielded to the reclamations of the Signory, and once more returned to Siena, he would have gone there again, three years later, had he not become too infirm. We learn from the books of the Opera del Duomo, that on the 20th of October 1438 Messer Giacomo Operajo passed from this life, 'La cui anima si reposi in pace.' By his will[2] he left the bulk of his property to his brother Priamo and his sister Lisabetta, and a small sum to his scholar Cino di Bartolo Battilori,[3] who, though long the recipient of many kindnesses from him, was accused, soon after Quercia's death, of having stolen 800 florins in gold, 400 florins' worth of clothes and drawings, and a gold ring, from his house at Bologna.

Death of Quercia, Oct. 1438.

Quercia's other scholars were Niccola dell' Arca,[4] called Il Bolognese, whom we have already mentioned, in the life of Niccola Pisano, as the sculptor who made the greater part of the monumental altar above the Arca di San Domenico; Nanni da Siena,

Died at Bologna in 1494.

[1] *Doc. Sanesi*, Nos. 127, 128. All the S. Petronius reliefs are engraved in a work entitled *Le Sc. di San Petronio*, pub. by G. Guizzardi.

[2] Vide Gaye, *Carteggio degli Artisti*, vol. i. pp. 365, 366.

[3] Worked under Quercia at Bologna 1428–1436.

[4] Vide Appendix, letter D.

A.D. 1413. who worked at Orvieto in the beginning of the century, and assisted in carving the ornaments about Fonte Gaja; Pietro del Minella,[1] whom he recommended to the commune in the last year of his life, as the best ornamental sculptor in the city, to work upon the Loggia di S. Paolo, who made all the marble work about the font in the Sienese Baptistry, worked in intaglio and intarsia at Orvieto, where he was capo maestro from 1431 to 1433, and who filled the same office at a later period in the Duomo at Siena, in which he built the Cappella di San Crescenzio; Antonio Federighi[2] detto de' Tolomei, whose statues of SS. Ansano and Crescenzio in the niches of the Loggia degli Uffiziali at Siena show him to have been an imitator of his master. He designed and executed the Seven Ages of Man and other compositions in the beautiful pavement of the Duomo at Siena, where he filled the office of master of drawing, which obliged him to superintend the studies of eight young men, who were educated as sculptors at the expense of the Fabbrica, and worked at Orvieto as architect and sculptor.[3]

Born Dec. 21, 1391. Died 1458.

A.D. 1460.

A.D. 1476.

Died after 1472.

Il Vecchietta. Born 1412. Died 1480.

Lorenzo di Pietro di Giovanni di Lando, commonly known as Il Vecchietta, was also a scholar of Giacomo della Quercia, and deserves a somewhat more extended notice, being one of the most original artists of the Sienese school. This gifted man, who distinguished himself as goldsmith, architect, sculptor, and painter, was born at Castiglione di Valdorcio, in the Sienese territory, in 1412.

[1] There were three of this family, sons of Tommaso del Minella, viz. Antonio, Giovanni, and Pietro; and Bernardino, son of Antonio.

[2] In the little Chapel de' Turchi, called the Palazzo dei Diavoli, outside the Porta Camollia at Siena, there is a bas-relief of glazed terra-cotta which, with the four Evangelists in the church of San Niccola, now the Insane Hospital, has been attributed to Cecco di Giorgio, worker in terra-cotta. Perhaps the bas-relief (mentioned by Giulio Mancini in his *Ragguaglio della Cose di Siena*, MS., as the work of an unknown Sienese) is by Antonio Federighi. See Vasari, *Commentary to the Life of Luca della Robbia*, vol. iii. p. 82, note 1.

[3] Giovanni di Stefano, who made two of the bronze angels above the altar of the Duomo, was his scholar: so also were Vito di Marco, flourished 1456; Franc. di Bartolo, flourished 1437–1497; and Barto. di Domenico, flourished 1472–1522.

MARINO SOCINO

Of his skill as a goldsmith, no example is extant, but we know that he made the bust or statue[1] of St. Catherine of Siena in silver, soon after her canonisation. He is well known as a painter to all lovers of the Sienese school by his pictures at Siena and Florence, and by his masterpiece, the Assumption of the Virgin, at Pienza. Between 1465 and 1472, he made for the Hospital della Scala at Siena, the bronze tabernacle now above the altar of the Duomo, which is adorned with a statuette of Christ the Arisen, and with numerous angels and 'putti.' An excellent specimen of his hard dry style is the bronze effigy of a famous Sienese jurisconsult, Marino Soccino the elder, which formed part of a monument formerly in the church of San Domenico at Siena, and is now to be found among the bronzes of the Uffizi gallery.[2] (See Plate XIII.) The head, which is not unlike that of Dante, appears to have been cast from life, as well as the hands and feet: the drapery is hard and unpliable. The two statues of SS. Peter and Paul in the niches of the Loggia de' Mercanti (called also Degli Uffiziali) are, like Vecchietta's other works, pure in style, but dry and meagre in form and drapery. In the latter part of his life he obtained permission from the directors of the Hospital 'della Scala' to build, decorate, and endow a chapel for which he modelled and cast the bronze Christ and candle-bearing angels which stand above the altar. Around the carved base of the statue is coiled a serpent with a woman's head, on which Christ rests the cross which He holds in His right hand. This figure, which is somewhat mannered in attitude and executed in a hard dry style, is inscribed with the words, 'Vecchietta, Pictor, pro sua devotione fecit hoc opus.' An altar in the chapel of St. Catherine, in the church of San Domenico, and a Christ between two angels in the house of the Sacristan of the Madonna di Fontegiusta at Siena are also

Sculptured in 1461.

[1] Rio (*op. cit.* vol. i. p. 102) says, bust; Dr. Carpellini says, statue, for 254*l.* It disappeared after the siege of Siena, in 1555.

[2] Sold by his descendants to the Grand Duke Ferdinando III.

pointed out as works of this artist, who died in 1480. He was a melancholy and solitary man; but as he lived to be seventy-eight years old, we can hardly think, with his biographer, that these tendencies greatly shortened his days.

Contemporaries of Quercia.

Among the contemporaries of Quercia at Siena, were the goldsmith Turino di Sano, and his son Giovanni, goldsmith, sculptor, and niellist,[1] who sculptured three marble reliefs of

A.D. 1425.

SS. John the Baptist, Paul, and Matthew,[2] which are set into the wall of a chapel in the Duomo at Siena. They are ill-proportioned figures, unmeaning in expression, and poorly draped, and do not, like the two bronze reliefs of the Birth of St. John and his Preaching in the Desert, which were cast by father and son for the font of the Baptistry, even look like the works of second-rate

In 1427.

artists bred in a good school. They are separated by statuettes of Charity, Justice, and Prudence, which want significance, and are stiff in action and rigid in drapery. Their family was one of artists, as, besides the father and son, there was a Lorenzo di Turino di Sano, and a Turino and Pietro di Giovanni, who were attached as sculptors to the Sienese Duomo.

Francesco di Giorgio. B. 1439. D. 1502 or 1506.

With Francesco di Giorgio, architect, engineer, sculptor, painter, and bronze-caster, we have but little concern in these pages, for although one of the most eminent Sienese artists of the fifteenth century, he devoted himself principally to military architecture and engineering, and obtained such celebrity that his services were constantly solicited of the Sienese republic, by the lords of the great Italian cities. His chief employer was the Duke of Urbino, and a series of seventy-two bas-reliefs, made up of military machines, arms, and trophies, which he sculptured for the façade of his palace, may still be seen set into the wall around the corridor of the first story of the ducal palace at

[1] Duchésne, *Essai sur les Nielles.*

[2] Intended for a pulpit which was never completed. The bronze wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus, which stands upon the column near the Palazzo del Commune, at Siena, was cast by Giovanni Turini.

Urbino. These were but a small part of the works which he executed for the Duke Federigo, who being, as Francesco di Giorgio tells us in his famous treatise upon civil and military architecture, 'replete with humanity and benignity and loving him as tenderly as if he had been his own son, commissioned him to build one hundred and thirty-six edifices, besides calling him to assist in the construction of many churches throughout his territory.[1] In 1493 he was elected to the magistracy of Siena, and having given up architecture, modelled and cast two of the four angels which stand on either side of the tabernacle above the high altar of the Duomo. He was for a long time supposed to have made the monument of the Cavaliere Cristofano Felice in the church of San Francesco, now known to be the work of Urbano da Cortona, a scholar of Il Vecchietta, who resided at Siena during the greater part of his life. The figure of the deceased, in alto-relief, is set against an architectural background, which, though nearly flat, is so cleverly treated in perspective as quite to deceive the spectator. Like the bas-relief over the door of the oratory of St. Catherine, also by him, this monument is naturalistic, and though a little stiff and precise, in a far purer and better style than that of Vecchietta or Francesco di Giorgio.

Giacomo Cozzarelli.

Another excellent worker in bronze was Giacomo Cozzarelli, scholar of Francesco di Giorgio, who made the beautiful torch sockets (braccialetti) which adorn the façade of the Palazzo Petrucci at Siena, and the brackets at either end of the high altar of the Duomo, one of which (a winged child) is really exquisite. Among Cozzarelli's scholars figures Michael Angelo Sanese,[2] mentioned by Benvenuto Cellini as the most amusing and endearing of companions, and as a member, like himself, of

Michael Angelo Sanese.

[1] *Trattato d' Architettura*, etc. etc., di Fco. di Giorgio Martini, pub. by Cav. Cesaro Saluzzo, con Diss. e Note di Carlo Promis. Turino, 1841. That the Duke highly estimated his genius, goodness, and prudence, is proved by a letter which he wrote to the Republic of Siena (Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 538).

[2] Probably identical with Michael Angelo di Bernardino di Michele. See Vasari, vol. viii. p. 227, vol. ix. p. 18; Cellini's *Autobiography*, pp. 59–63.

an artist club which met together at Rome twice a week for purposes of conviviality. His early life was spent in Schiavonia, In 1524. whence he removed to Rome by the desire of his countryman Baldasser Peruzzi, who entrusted him with the execution of a monument to Pope Adrian VI., which he had designed for the church of Sta. Maria dell' Anima, and which, though on a large and ostentatious scale, has little about it to attract the connoisseur.[1]

Lorenzo di Mariano. One of the best sculptors at Siena in the year 1500 was Lorenzo di Mariano (detto il Marina), eminent for ornamental work, such as grotesques, leaves, 'putti,' who made the high altar of the church of Fontegiusta, one of the best examples of Renaissance work in Italy. In the lunette is a bas-relief of Christ in the Sepulchre supported by angels; above the key-stone of the arch, the statuette of a child; a row of cherub-heads around the door of the central tabernacle; and a mass of exquisitely carved birds, scrolls, griffins, Arabesques, &c. &c. in the frieze, column capitals, and side spaces. According to a very doubtful tradition, it was sent on the backs of mules from Siena to Rome, to gratify Pope Julius, who had heard wonderful accounts of its beauty.

Conclusion. The annals of the sixteenth century furnish us with no other names of note among the Sienese sculptors. With the loss of her liberties, Siena seems to have lost her artistic power, and when she was added to Tuscany under the sceptre of Cosimo de' Medici in 1555, she brought in dower no new names worthy to shine among those of the great Tuscan sculptors. That the Sienese artists of the thirteenth century prepared the way for those who, in the first half of the fourteenth, caused sculpture 'to rival the Pisan and outdo the Florentine,' as has been averred by an eminent Sienese critic,[2] is a statement which will not bear an instant's examination, since Agostino and Agnolo, Gano, Tino, &c., who represent the Sienese school at that time, are greatly inferior to Andrea Pisano and his scholars, who worked contemporaneously

[1] Two statuettes upon it were made by Tribolo.

[2] Milanesi, *Siena e il suo Territorio*, p. 153.

at Florence. Nor can any Sienese work of the fourteenth century be pointed out which at all equals the bas-reliefs sculptured by Niccola Pisano at Pisa or Siena in the thirteenth, or those made by his son Giovanni at Pistoja in the early part of the fourteenth. The truth is, that Siena produced but one sculptor, Jacopo della Quercia, and but one architect, Lorenzo Maitani, who deserve to be classed with the great Pisan and Florentine artists. Why, then, blind us to her real glory by instituting dangerous comparison, and claiming for her the first, while she really deserves the third place among the great Italian schools ?

CHRONOLOGY.

	A.D.
Ramo di Paganello—	
No works extant.	
Recalled from banishment	1281
Worked upon the Duomo at Siena	1288
Capo Loggia at Orvieto	1296
Goro Sanese—	
First mentioned in	1281
Urna di S. Cerbone at Massa, in the Maremma, sc.	1323
Worked at Siena	1329—1332
Lorenzo Maitani—	
Date of birth unknown	
Built the cathedral at Orvieto	1290—1330
Cast the bronze symbols of the Evangelists for its façade	1330
Died at Orvieto in	1330
Buzio di Biaggio—	
Cast the Madonna and Child with Angels for the façade of the Orvietan Duomo in	1325
Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura—	
Agnolo assisted Giovanni Pisano in building the façade of the Duomo at Siena	1284
Agostino and Agnolo made the monument of Bishop Tarlati in the Duomo at Arezzo	1330
Both died about	1350

A.D.

GIOVANNI DI AGOSTINO—
Only known work, Madonna and Angels in the oratory of S. Bernardino at Siena.

LINO or TINO DI CAMAINO—
First mentioned, as sculptor of the monument of Henry VII. in the Campo Santo at Pisa, in . . 1315—1317
Monument of Bishop Felice Aliotti in Santa Maria Novella at Florence . . . Date unknown
Associated with Maestro Gerardus di Sermona in making the tomb of Queen Maria in the church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, after 1323
Died at Naples in 1336

MAESTRO GANO SANESE—
Made the monuments of Bishop Tommaso di Andrea and of Raniero Porrina in the collegiate church at Casole, after 1314
Also that of Cardinal Petroni in the Duomo at Siena, and of Ugo Causaronti in the Pieve delle Serre at Rapolano 1346

ANTONIO BRUNACCI—
No works extant. Flourished 1330

MAESTRO CELLINO DI NESE—
Flourished 1334
Sculptures monument of Messer Cino at Pistoja . . 1337

LANDO DI STEPHANO—
Flourished . 1382—1428

BARTOLOMEO DI TOMMÈ and MARIANO DI ANGELO ROMANELLI—
Made the SS. Peter and John the Baptist, and SS. James Greater and Less.

GIOVANNI DI CECCO—
Made the St. Matthew.

MATTEO DI AMBROGIO—
Made the St. Andrew.

These artists made the statues of the Apostles in the tabernacles upon the Cappella della Piazza at Siena, between 1376 and 1384
Giovanni di Cecco was the only sculptor among them. Lando was a painter, and the other three goldsmiths (Milanesi, *Siena*, etc. p. 155).

A.D.

LUCA DI GIOVANNI—
Flourished . . . . . 1363—1381
Supposed master of Quercia.
Sculptures holy-water vase in the Duomo at Orvieto.

VALENTINO DI PAOLO—
MATTEO DI NOBILI—
PIETRO DI VANNI—
Flourished 1400.
GIACOMO DI PIETRO GUIDI—
} Sculptured baptismal font in the Duomo at Orvieto, which was designed by Giovanni di Fribourg 1403—1406

GIACOMO DELLA QUERCIA—
Born 1371
Equestrian statue of Azzo Ubaldini . . . 1390
Competes for the Baptistry gate at Florence . . 1401
Sculptures B. R. Assumption of the Madonna, Duomo, Florence . . . . . 1401—1402
Sculptures Madonna and Child, B. R., in the Capitolo dei Canonici at Ferrara 1408
Sculptures monument of Antonio Bentivoglio in S. Giacomo Maggiore at Bologna 1408
Contracts for Fonte Gaja at Siena 1409
Commences it in 1412
Finishes it in 1419
Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto in S. Martino at Lucca . 1413
Altar in S. Frediano at Lucca 1416
The Calling of St. Joachim, B. R. in Baptistry font, Siena 1430
Fifteen bas-reliefs about the great door of S. Petronius at Bologna . . . . . 1425—1435
Madonna and Child with Angels, in the University Museum, Bologna, circa 1430
Died at Siena 1438

PIETRO DEL MINELLA—
Born 1391
Marble work of font in the Baptistry at Siena.
Capo Maestro d' Intaglio at Orvieto, sculptured Seggili del Coro . . . . . 1431—1433
Worked at Loggia di S. Paolo 1437
Worked at Coro dello Spedale 1439

A.D.

Built the Chapel of S. Crescenzio in the Duomo . . 1445
Died 1458

ANTONIO FEDERIGHI—
Sculptures statues of SS. Ansano and Crescenzio for the Loggia degli Uffiziali 1460
Died 1486

IL VECCHIETTA—
Born 1412
Bronze tabernacle for the Duomo at Siena . . 1465—1472
Monument of Marino Soccino—effigy in the Uffizi—statues of SS. Peter and Paul—Loggia degli Uffiziali, Siena 1451
Bronze Christ and candle-bearing Angels—Hospital at Siena 1475
Altar in S. Domenico, and Christ supported by Angels.
Died 1480

TURINO DI SANO and GIOVANNI DI TURINO—
Marble reliefs of SS. John, Paul, and Matthew, in the Duomo at Siena 1425
Two bronze reliefs in Baptistry font at Siena . . 1427

FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO—
Born 1439
Seventy-two bas-reliefs of military machines in the ducal palace at Urbino.
Two Angels in bronze in the Duomo at Siena . . 1493
Died . . . . . 1502 or 1506

URBANO DI CORTONA—
Monument of Cav. Cr. Felice in S. Francesco at Siena, and bas-relief over the door of the oratory of S. Catherine at Siena, circa 1480

GIACOMO COZZARELLI—
Flourished . . . . . 1468—1473
Bronze 'braccialetti' of the Palazzo Petrucci at Siena, and brackets for the high altar of the Duomo.

MICHEL ANGELO SANESE—
Flourished 1520

A.D.

Monument of Pope Adrian VI. in Santa Maria dell' Anima at Rome 1524

LORENZO DI MARIANO detto IL MARINA—

Flourished 1500

High altar of the church of Fonte Giusta at Siena.

ST. CATHERINE. (By G. della Quercia.)

BOOK III.

THE PICTORIAL SCULPTORS.

CHAPTER V.

LORENZO GHIBERTI AND DONATELLO.

WITH the exception of Arnolfo del Cambio and Andrea Orcagna, Florence produced no sculptors equal to the best Pisan masters until more than one hundred and fifty years after the Revival; but towards the end of the fourteenth century two men, destined to raise the fame of her school of sculpture equally high with that of painting, long esteemed the first in Italy, were born within her walls. These were Ghiberti and Donatello.

Period singularly favourable for art development.

Placed midway between the age of strong religious feeling and that in which Paganism invaded every form of art and literature, the period was singularly favourable for artistic education; as the waning influence of religion was still strong enough to check the adoption of Pagan sentiment, while a general enthusiasm for the antique led to the study of the beauty of form and technical perfection revealed in those newly acquired masterpieces of classic art, which were eagerly sought for and daily added to the collections of the time.

In its first phase, as represented by Brunelleschi in architecture and by Ghiberti and Donatello in sculpture, the Renaissance was noble and profitable; but it became destructive to all life and progress when artists, no longer seeking to assimilate its abstract principles to new ideas, aimed at positive imitation of antique forms; when, striking at the foundations of religious belief already

grievously shaken by the iniquities of Rome, classic art and literature usurped the first place in men's affections so completely, that few were scandalised when they saw a never-dying lamp burning before the bust of Plato, as before that of a saint;[1] when Sigismund Pandolfo dedicated a temple to his concubine Isotta da Rimini, and covered its walls with their interlaced cyphers; when painters represented the Madonna under the features of a well-known courtesan; when the secretary[2] of a pope called Jesus Christ a hero, and the Virgin a goddess; and a sculptor[3] modelled the loves of Leda and the swan among the ornaments of the great doorway of the Basilica dedicated to the chief of the Apostles. These abuses, which would have filled the men of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth century with horror, and which gradually increased until they roused the zealous and fiery Savonarola to pour out his threatenings of wrath to come, were unknown in Ghiberti's youth, during which Florence enjoyed comparative peace and repose, and extended her boundaries and her wealth by commercial enterprise; while art grew under the kindly influence of Cosmo de' Medici, that great merchant prince, who not only spent vast sums upon the acquisition of antique treasures, which he used as means of education, but also bestowed that best sort of patronage upon contemporaneous art, which consists in treating the artist like a friend and an equal. Nothing could be more real than the affection which bound him to Donatello and Michelozzo, and no relation more honourable to both parties, than that which existed between them.

We cannot wonder that Cosmo de' Medici did not cultivate the same intimacy with Ghiberti, when we see how much better the simple tastes of Donatello were suited to those of his patron, and how his single-heartedness won upon all who came in contact with him.

[1] By Marsilio Ficino. Burlamacchi, *Vita di Savonarola*, p. 69.

[2] Cardinal Bembo. See Appendix, letter A, for an account, given by Erasmus, of a sermon preached before Julius II., 'Dialogus Ciceronianus.'

[3] Antonio Filarete.

Lorenzo Ghiberti. b. 1481.

As the elder by five years, Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti, son of Cione di Ser Buonaccorso, who was born at Florence in the year 1481, first claims our attention. He was descended from an honourable family (probably of Fesulan origin[1]), which settled at Florence in the thirteenth century, and several members of which from time to time filled positions of importance in the church and magistracy.[2] When Lorenzo was still very young, his father died, and his mother, Madonna Fiore, soon after married a noted goldsmith, Bartolo di Michiele, who more than supplied the place of his lost parent, and exercised a most important influence upon his career. So much were they like father and son, that Lorenzo called himself 'di Bartolo' till he was over sixty years old, and would probably never have resumed his paternal name of 'di Cione,' had not his enemies, by casting upon him the stigma of illegitimacy, in order to defeat his election as a magistrate forced him to address a 'supplica' to the chief officers of the State demanding a public acquittal of the charge.[3]

His origin.

His early studies.

While learning the goldsmith's art from his stepfather, Lorenzo, following the bent of his genius, devoted much of his time to the modelling and casting of graceful little figures in imitation of antique medals; to making portraits of his friends; and to the study of painting, of which, as he himself tells us, he was peculiarly fond.

A.D. 1399.

It was, indeed, as a painter that he first made himself known; for when the plague broke out in Florence, a brother artist, who had been engaged to paint some frescoes in the Palace of Carlo Malatesta at Rimini, persuaded him to accompany him as his assistant. Though not as eminent as his successor (the celebrated Sigismund Pandolfo) for that enlightened patronage of art for which the Malatesta was renowned among the princely

He goes to Rimini and works as a fresco painter.

[1] 'Venere ut fertur, Fesulanâ ex arte Ghiberti' (Baldinucci, vol. i. p. 318).

[2] Filippo Villani, lib. vi. ch. lxxx.

[3] Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. pp. 148 *et seq.* See also Gualandi, fourth series, pp. 17–31. The 'supplica' is dated April 27, 1444.

houses of Italy, Carlo Malatesta bestowed enough to entitle him to a grateful remembrance. Surnamed Cato on account of his love of letters, and eloquence, he ruled (says his biographer) 'like a prince and a father, wherefore he was loved and revered by his subjects and vassals, who gloried in his good government as he in their fidelity.' [1]

Carlo Malatesta.

Struck with the talent displayed by Ghiberti in the frescoes which he painted in a room of his palace, Carlo Malatesta made him such promises of advancement and employment, that, as he himself tells us,[2] he would certainly have remained at Rimini, had he not at the same time received a letter from his stepfather, stating that the Signory of Florence and the Merchants' Guild had issued a manifesto, inviting the best Italian artists to compete for a bronze door for the Baptistry, and urging him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of winning his way to fame. Yielding to this counsel, he with some difficulty obtained permission to return home, and immediately entered his name on the list of competitors, out of whom he and five others were selected to model and cast a bas-relief representing the sacrifice of Isaac, which was to be presented in a year's time for final adjudication.

Ghiberti recalled to Florence.

The trial of skill lay between two Florentines, Ghiberti and Brunelleschi; two Sienese, Quercia and Valdambrini; one Aretine, Niccola Lamberti,[3] commonly known as Niccola d'Arezzo; and Simone, from Colle in the Val d' Elsa, a town midway between Florence and Siena. This selection, which speaks for the fairness of the judges in respect to nationality, shows that the contest really lay between Florence and Siena, as although competitors

Competition for the Baptistry gate.

[1] Clementini, *Istorie di Rimini*, lib. viii. part ii. p. 226.

[2] In his Second Commentary, Magliabecchiana library, cl. xvii. cod. 33. Vide Cicognara, vol. iv.; vide Vasari, vol. i.

[3] Francesco Valdambrini di Domenico da Valdambra, 1401, competed for the Baptistry gate at Florence; 1412, worked in the Quercia upon the Fonte Gaja; 1416, sat in the magisterial body at Siena; mentioned in 1454, when he was sent as Castellano to Lusignano. Niccolo Lamberti d' Arezzo was a scholar of Moccio Sanese, flourished 1350–1417.

from other parts of Italy presented themselves, none of them were deemed worthy to be entered upon the list. The two Florentines were, however, the only real rivals; and when the year was over, the judges acknowledged this, hesitating only as to which of the two the prize should be awarded. They were extricated from this difficulty by Brunelleschi, who, with a disinterested avowal of his rival's superiority, withdrew from the field.[1]

Ghiberti the victor.

Ghiberti had earned his victory by patience, and submission to the wise counsels of his stepfather, who induced him to make many designs, which he carefully criticised, and then submitted to the judgment of many competent citizens, and strangers of note, before permitting his stepson to cast the one which they considered most perfect. As we look at it side by side with that of Brunelleschi, in the bronze room of the Uffizi, we cannot understand how the judges could have hesitated between them, for while Ghiberti's is distinguished by clearness of narration, grace of line, and repose, Brunelleschi's is melo-dramatically conceived, and awkwardly composed. (See Plate XIV.) In Ghiberti's Abraham we see a father who, while preparing to obey the Divine command, still hopes for a respite, and in his Isaac a submissive victim; the angel who points out the ram caught in a thicket, which Abraham could not otherwise, and does not yet see, sets us at rest about the conclusion; while the servants, with the ass which brought the faggots for the sacrifice, are so skilfully placed, as to enter into the composition without distracting our attention from the principal group.

The trial plates.

Brunelleschi's Abraham is, on the contrary, a savage zealot, whose knife is already half buried in the throat of his writhing victim, and who, in his hot haste, does not heed the ram which is placed directly before him, nor the angel, who seizes his wrist to avert his blow; while the ass, and the two servants, each carrying on a separate action, fill up the foreground so obtru-

[1] Nov. 23, 1403. Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. p. 105.

L. Ghiberti

F. Brunelleschi

1402 Competition Plates

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

sively, as to call off the eye from what should be the main point of interest.

Judged by the axiom of Michael Angelo, that 'the more nearly painting attains to relievo the better it is, and the more nearly relievo attains to painting the worse it is,' both reliefs would be condemned as too pictorial in treatment.[1] This was, however, the habitual style of Ghiberti, who as we shall more than once have occasion to remark, was a painter in bronze; less so, however, in the first Baptistry gate, for which he immediately received the commission, than in the second, in which he completely overstepped the boundaries which separate the two arts. One month later, he began to model his compositions for the twenty-eight panels of this first gate. Twenty of these relate to the history of our Lord, preceded by the Annunciation and followed by the Descent of the Holy Ghost. In the remaining eight he placed the four Evangelists and the four Doctors of the Church, filling up the corners of each with heads of prophets and sybils, and enframing the whole door in an elaborate border of leaves. One can never tire in looking at these exquisite works, which combine the purity of style of an earlier period with a hitherto unattained technical knowledge and skill in handling. The most lovely among them is the Annunciation, in which the Virgin shrinks back, beneath an exquisite little portico, before a graceful angel; and two of the most striking are the Raising of Lazarus (a perfect Byzantine type) and the Temptation of our Lord. The single figures of the Evangelists are dignified and admirably draped, and the exquisite little angel who whispers inspiration to Matthew (see Plate XV.) is of a type peculiar to Ghiberti and singularly refined.

Ghiberti's first gate.

Twenty-one years elapsed between the commencement and the completion of this work;[2] and no less than twenty artists, among

[1] Bottari, *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. i. p. 7.

[2] Set up, in 1424, in the doorway opposite the Duomo, until then occupied by Andrea Pisano's gate, and now filled by Ghiberti's second gate.

whom were Donatello and Paolo Uccello, assisted in modelling and casting it. Scarcely was it set in its place, when Ghiberti was ordered to make the remaining gate of the Baptistry, the subjects upon which were, by request of the Deputies, selected by Lionardo Bruni, though the artist was left at liberty as to their mode of treatment. In his answer Bruni says: 'I think that the ten stories for the new door, which you have decided shall be selected from the Old Testament, should possess capacity of illustration, by which I mean that they should afford variety in composition, which is pleasant to the eye, and at the same time be not only significant, but remarkable as events. In accordance with which ideas, I have made out the enclosed list. The artist who is to model them should thoroughly understand the meaning of each one, so that he may fitly represent actors and events; and be gifted with an elevated taste, that he may fitly compose them. Though I have no doubt that this work as I have planned it will prove satisfactory in every respect, still I should greatly like to be near the artist who is to illustrate these Bible incidents, that I might assist him to understand them in all their bearings.' [1]

He is ordered to make a second gate.

Subjects proposed by Lionardo Bruni.

'In modelling these reliefs,' says Ghiberti, in his second Commentary,[2] 'I strove to imitate Nature to the utmost, and by investigating her methods of work to see how nearly I could approach her. I sought to understand how forms strike upon the eye, and how the theoretic part of sculptural and pictorial art should be managed. Working with the utmost diligence and care, I introduced into some of my compositions as many as a hundred figures, which I modelled upon different planes, so that those nearest the eye might appear larger, and those more remote smaller in proportion.'

Ghiberti's mode of work.

[1] Rumohr, *It. Forsch.* vol. ii. p. 354. Lionardi Bruni, who was born at Arezzo in 1369, and died at Florence in 1444, was a chancellor of the Florentine Republic, and eminent as a literary man.

[2] Vasari, vol. i. p. 30.

By means of these many figures, and by the use of perspective, he represented in some of his compositions as many as four successive actions; as, for instance, in the most beautiful of all, in which he had the skill to combine into one perfect whole, while keeping each clear and unconfused, the creation of Adam, that of Eve, their Sin, and its Punishment. To produce this marvellous result, and show twelve or fourteen heads in graduated perspective upon an inclined plane, leaving each person and countenance distinct, the distance, there being no division of space, had to be supplied by the gradual diminution in relief from Alto, Mezzo, and Basso, to Stiacciato (the very flattest possible),[1] as well as by the fugitive lines of the perspective. The management of the landscapes and architectural background is wonderfully skilful, and calculated not only to fill up and enrich space, but to produce picturesque shadows; the accessories are therefore worked out in a manner which, without such reason, would make them unduly prominent over the figures; but with no atmosphere to keep objects in their right places, or difference of colour and tone to give distance to parts, and still make the chief figures predominate, even the highest skill could not enable the sculptor to deceive the eye as a painter can. To avoid such insurmountable difficulties, the Greeks represented multitudes and armies by a few typical figures; a mode better adapted to their high state of cultivation than this positive appeal to the senses, which was perhaps demanded by the lower grade of cultivation among the Florentines.[2]

In the flat spaces of his gate Ghiberti disposed twenty-four statuettes of prophets and Scriptural personages in niches, among which those of Miriam and Judith are especially beautiful; and at the corners of the reliefs introduced as many heads, with

[1] In Stiacciato relief the inner parts are little more than drawn, incised or cut in sharply, with no projection even on the most prominent parts. See Westmacott's third lecture upon 'Sculpture,' in the *Athenæum*, No. 1,585, of March 13, 1858.

[2] Selvatico, *Arti del Disegno*, vol. ii. pp. 364, 365.

portraits of himself and his stepfather Bartoluccio; while around the whole he modelled an elaborate frieze of leaves, birds, and animals. To enjoy these reliefs fully, we must examine their beauties with a loving and a careful eye; first take them in as a whole, and then scan them in detail. Look at the grace of movement and expression of wondering awe displayed by the groups of angels who attend upon the Creator—here floating above His head when He raises Adam from the dust—there sustaining the half-conscious Eve, and again bearing Him in a glory far up to the sky of bronze, into which they fade as if it were made of air. (See Plate XVI.) Look, too, in another panel, at the beautiful group of Israelitish women and boys bearing away corn from Egypt to feed their famishing countrymen; and in still another, at Joshua, a pigmy in size, but a giant in majesty of presence. (See Tail Piece.)

A.D. 1452. Five years after this door was set up, it was enriched with gilding, now (we think happily) worn away by time; for, although the effect must have indeed been gorgeous, the precious coating could not but have interfered with that clearness of outline so desirable in such a complicated series of compositions. Apart from their beauty, these gates—'che son tanto belle, che starebbon bene alle porte del Paradiso'—have an interest as the record of the greater part of a great artist's life, since Ghiberti when he began them was but twenty-five, and when he finished them was an old man of seventy-four. He could have completed them much sooner, had he not at the same time received and executed many commissions for statues, bas-reliefs and goldsmith's work, and also spent some time at Rome, as we learn from his enthusiastic mention of the statue of a Hermaphrodite, which he saw there soon after it had been dug up in a 'Vigna,' near San Celso. When this visit took place we cannot say, as he tells us it occurred in the four hundred and fortieth Olympiad, a method of reckoning time which his love for everything antique induced him to adopt. 'No tongue,' he says,

FROM

GHIBERTI'S SECOND BAPTISTERY GATE

in speaking of this statue, 'can describe the learning and art displayed in it, or do justice to its masterly style;' and in a similar strain of enthusiasm he dilates upon another antique dug up near Florence, 'which,' he conjectures, 'was hidden away, in the spot where it has now been found, by some gentle spirit in the early days of Christianity, who, seeing its perfection, and the marvellous genius displayed in it, was so moved to pity, that he had a tomb made, in which he buried it under a stone slab to protect it from injury. The touch only,' he adds, 'can discover many of its beauties, which escape the eye in any light.' None but a great artist, who had long made antique marbles the object of close study, and had quickened the fineness of his touch by handling them for the purpose of restoration, could have attained to what may be called a sixth sense. His own collection, which contained many valuable antiques, some of which had been brought expressly for him from Greece, furnished him opportunities for such study, the fruits of which we see in so many works. In statues Ghiberti was by no means so successful as in bas-reliefs, because his love of detail, richness of invention, and knowledge of perspective were there of little or no use to him. Take for instance the SS. Matthew, and John, and Stephen, which he cast in bronze for Or San Michele;[1] we must confess that we admire the beautiful niches in which they stand more than the statues themselves, though the St. Matthew, albeit a little too like a Roman orator, is a well-draped, well-posed and commanding figure, and the St. Stephen simple and individual, and softer in line and truer in character, than the St. Matthew or the St. John.

Ghiberti's enthusiasm for the antique.

The two bronze bas-reliefs in the panels of the Baptistry font at Siena, which represent our Lord's Baptism and St. John brought before Herod,[2] are examples of the transition period

Bronze reliefs for the font at Siena.

[1] The St. Matthew was made for the Guild of the Cambiatori; the St. John for that of the Calimala in 1414; and the St. Stephen for the Arte della Lana between 1419–1422.

[2] Ordered in 1417, and finished in 1427 (Milanesi, *Doc. San.* vol. ii. pp. 89 *et seq.*)

between Ghiberti's first and second manner. In the first he has made use (as in the reliefs of his second gate), of progressively flattened relief to unite the principal group with the angels in the background, and thus attain perspective. It would be difficult to find in any modern work a more lovely group than that of the two women standing by the shore, whose graceful forms and elegantly disposed draperies were clearly inspired by the antique. The second relief, in which we see St. John pointing to heaven, as he is dragged by the soldiers before Herod, who sits aloft upon a curule chair, absorbed in consultation with a sybilline-looking woman, is dramatic and effective.

Eight letters written from Florence between 1424 and 1427 relate to these bas reliefs, and show the causes which had delayed their termination. In the first he says that they would have been already finished had it not been for the pest, which had frightened away all his workmen, and on account of which he had himself gone to Venice; in the second, he excuses himself for not having finished them on the ground of the ingratitude of his workmen, who had returned his benefits by injuries, and of whom he had to his great peace and comfort at last rid himself, so that he now remained 'master in his own workshop.' The other letters give accounts of the progress of the bas-reliefs, of the cost of the gilding to be put upon them, and finally of their completion.[1]

Divers works.

Among Ghiberti's minor works are several grave slabs which mark the resting-places of distinguished Florentines; such as that

Died in 1424.

of Fra Leonardi Stagi, General of the Dominicans (before the high altar of Sta. Maria Novella), which was ordered at the public expense in recognition of his important diplomatic services; that of Ludovico degli Obizzi (at Sta. Croce), who was Captain of the

A.D. 1424.

Florentine troops under Carlo Malatesta, in the war against Pope Martin V. and Filippo Maria Visconti;[2] and that in the same

[1] *Documenti dell' Arte Sanesi*, vol. ii. pp. 119–125.

[2] In order to succour the garrison in the castle of Zagonara, then besieged

church, of the upright and patriotic Gonfaloniere of Florence, Bartolomeo Valori, son of that Nicolo di Taldo, whom the people so trusted, that in moments of danger they were wont to say, 'God and Taldo will protect us.'[1]

The Arca di San Zanobio.

In the year 1440 Ghiberti made a bronze 'Cassa' or reliquary for the Duomo at Florence, to contain the bones of St. Zenobius. Beautiful, indeed, is the relief upon its front, which represents the miraculous restoration of a dead child to life by the Saint, in the presence of his widowed mother. In the centre lies the body, over which the spirit hovers in the likeness of a little child, between the praying Saint and the kneeling mother, around whom cluster a crowd of spectators. The story is exquisitely told, the kneeling figures are full of feeling, the bystanders of sympathy, and the vanishing lines of the perspective are managed with wonderful skill, so as to lead the eye from the principal group, through the nearer and more distant spectators, to the gates of the far-off city. Two other miracles of the Saint are represented on the ends of the 'Cassa,' and at the back are six angels in relief, sustaining a garland, within which is an inscription commemorative of this holy and learned man, who abjured Paganism in his early youth, bestowed his private fortune

by Guido Torelli, Malatesta pushed forward, against the advice of Obizzi, under skies pouring with rain; and, coming with his fatigued and dispirited soldiers upon a fresh and vigorous foe, was defeated, leaving in the hands of the enemy thirty-two hundred of his troops, and on the field of battle many slain, among whom was his ill-fated Captain Obizzi (Sismondi, vol. iv. p. 394; Napier, vol. iii. pp. 68, 69).

[1] During the troubles with Pope Martin V., Bartolomeo, having heard that placards had been put up about the city, advising that he should be put to death as the only means of restoring tranquillity, showed his firmness by saying to those who informed him of his danger, 'Abbai chi vuole, e calunnino se sanno, che non avranno forza di farmi scappaciare. Fermo son io, di dir sempre il vero, e vadane il capo.' Having been a firm friend of the deposed Pope John XXIII., he inherited by his will a legacy of two thousand golden florins, spent the last days of his life in the Convent of Santa Croce, where he studied the Scriptures, and, as he himself tells us, strove 'to learn how to die' (Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, vol. ii. Article 'Valori').

upon the poor, and was made one of the seven Deacons of the Church by Pope Damasus; he was subsequently Legate at Con-
A.D. 417. stantinople, and at the time of his death held the office of Bishop of Florence.

His rich fancy and exquisite taste in goldsmith's work are
The Mitres of Popes Martin V. and Eugenius IV. shown by the descriptions of the mitre made for Pope Martin V. soon after his elevation to the Papacy, which was covered with leaves of gold, between which were introduced many little figures in the round; and also of a cope button, adorned with
A.D. 1439. a figure of our Lord pronouncing the benediction. Many years after, when Pope Eugenius IV. presided over the great council held at Sta. Maria Novella, to heal the schism between the Greek and Latin churches, Ghiberti made for him also a mitre which was adorned with precious stones worth 38,000 florins, decorated with many exquisite ornaments, and with two groups representing our Lord enthroned and surrounded by angels, and the Virgin similarly placed and attended. With this splendid tiara upon his head, Pope Eugenius must have outshone all the Church dignitaries over whom he presided, and even the Greek Emperor John Paleologus, 'who wore upon his pointed white hood a ruby larger than a pigeon's egg.'[1] We have also the de-
About 1428. scription of a setting which he made for an intaglio belonging to Giovanni de' Medici (supposed to be by Pyrgoteles or Polycletus) which was cut upon a large cornelian; he placed it between the open wings of a golden dragon, crouching with bent head and slightly raised neck in a bed of ivy leaves. Both mitres were probably despoiled of their jewels and melted down by Cellini for
A.D. 1527. Clement VII. in the days of his dire necessity; while the intaglio, with many other treasures of the Palazzo Medici, may have been carried off by the French after the flight of Piero de' Medici.

It is always painful to be obliged to blame those whom we so much admire, but Ghiberti's conduct to Brunelleschi was of such

[1] Muratori, vol. xix. p. 982.

a nature that we are forced to conclude that his heart was bad and his disposition mercenary. We remember (though he seems to have forgotten it) how generously Brunelleschi behaved when they competed for the gate of the Baptistry, how much assistance he gave him in chiselling its bas-reliefs, and how he taught him to apply the art of perspective, which he had first perfected, and without the knowledge of which Ghiberti never could have formed his peculiar style. All these obligations did not, however, prevent him from accepting an appointment as joint architect with Brunelleschi of the Cupola of the Duomo (a task for which he must have known his incompetency), and from endeavouring, throughout the six years during which he held that office, to spy out and avail himself of the models which Brunelleschi had constructed after much thought and study. At last Brunelleschi, annoyed and disheartened, feigned illness and took to his bed, with the determination of destroying his models and quitting Florence for ever. This brought matters to a crisis, and Ghiberti gave such proofs of ignorance when attempting to carry out a portion of the work by himself, that he was forced to resign. We feel loath to add, that even after being thus publicly put to shame by the judges, who by way of compensation to Brunelleschi for the treatment which he had received, now made him sole architect of the building for life with an increased salary, Ghiberti showed his mercenary motives by insisting that the monthly salary, which by the terms of his appointment was due to him for a further term of three years, should continue to be paid.[1]

Ghiberti's incapacity as an architect.

A.D. 1423.

Proof of Ghiberti's defective education as an architect is to be found in his manuscript Treatise on Architecture, an incomplete fragment, replete with a false ostentation almost Vitruvian.[2] This manuscript became the property of the goldsmith

[1] Vasari, *Vita di F. Brunelleschi*, vol. iii. p. 213.

[2] Codice 2, classe xvii. Biblioteca Magliabecchiana. Upon a loose sheet of paper in the MS. Baron Rumohr has summed up his reasons for believing in

Buonaccorso di Vittorio, Ghiberti's grandson, who inherited also his precious collection of antique marbles, which after his own death was sold and dispersed.

In the last part of his life Ghiberti was made chief magistrate
A.D. 1452. of his native city, and as a further acknowledgment of his signal merit and services as an artist, was presented by the Signory with
Death of Ghiberti. a farm near the abbey of Settimo. He died of fever in the year 1455, leaving his son Vittorio and several of his scholars, among whom Antonio Pollajuolo is especially mentioned, to complete the bronze frieze of leaves, fruits and flowers, and well nigh living birds which encircles the Baptistry gate made by Andrea Pisano. He was buried in Sta. Croce, in a now forgotten spot, and Florence has as yet erected no monument to his
His sons and scholars. memory. His two sons Vittorio and Tommaso, sculptors and goldsmiths, assisted him in making his second bronze gate, and if, as has been suggested,[1] Vittorio be the author of that very beautiful bronze altar in the Uffizi, which is generally attributed to Desiderio de Settignano, he must have been an artist of distinguished ability. Among his other scholars and assistants were Michelozzo, who abandoned him for Donatello, Antonio Pollajuolo, and Lamberti.

Ghiberti should be rather called a goldsmith and a painter, than a sculptor, as he delighted in rich detail and elaborate ornament, excelled in modelling small figures suitable for work in the precious metals, and handled his chisel like a brush upon marble or bronze. We must look upon his bas-reliefs as pictures if we would estimate them fairly; and although it is vain to deny that in this light they are from their very nature, necessarily

its authenticity, and his opinion of it, as corroborative of Vasari's statement concerning Ghiberti's defective knowledge. Among the many pen and ink sketches which adorn its pages, the geometrical figures at pp. 144 and 146, those at pp. 5 and 61, the architectural studies from p. 41 to p. 53, and the human figure at the back of c. 36, are evidently by Ghiberti.

[1] Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 108, note.

incomplete, their beauty is such as to excuse his illegitimate use of plastic materials, and to entitle him to be judged by an exceptional standard. He was a dangerous innovator, who opened the doors to license to be tolerated only in a man of such great genius, and who would have had a far more pernicious effect upon the young artists of his time, had he not been counterbalanced by his great rival Donatello, whose determined realism stood like a strong dyke to stem the stream which Ghiberti set running in a wrong direction, and whose juster perception of the true aims of sculpture saved it from being submerged by the use of means which belong exclusively to the sister art of painting.

Donatello.

Donatello was undoubtedly the greatest Tuscan sculptor before Michael Angelo, and though by no means his equal in vigour and grandeur of conception, by far his superior in delicacy of handling, in truth of detail, rendering of character, and technical ability as a worker in marble or bronze. The son of Nicolo di Betto Bardi, he was born at Florence in 1386, and baptized under the name of Donato. In his early youth, he is said to have studied under Bicci di Lorenzo, the painter, lately discovered to have been also a sculptor,[1] but though this is historically interesting, it gives us no clue to the causes of his early development, which must have lain within himself, as has been the case with so many other great masters, for Bicci no more accounts for Donato, than Cimabue for Giotto, Verrochio for Leonardo da Vinci, or Ghirlandajo for Michael Angelo.

We are told that at sixteen years of age Donato's opinion of the trial-plates was asked by the judges who presided over the competition for the Baptistry gate, which, if true, shows that his judgment was already esteemed in matters of art; we know that he was not himself a competitor, despite the positive statement

[1] See his Coronation of the Virgin in terra-cotta, in a lunette over the door of S. Egidio, a work until lately attributed to Dello Delli. Record of payments for it to Bicci, published by Prof. Milanesi, in *Arch. St. It.* vol. xii. disp. 3, p. 183, note 1; A.D. 1860.

of Vasari, whose three ways of dealing with his subject matter, as an Historian, a Novelist, and an Improvisatore, must always be remembered by those who consult his pages.[1]

Donatello protected by Ruberto Martelli.

From his boyhood Donato resided under the roof of the wealthy Florentine banker Ruberto Martelli, who not only gave him a home, and furnished him with means for study, but regarded him through life with unwavering friendship, and in his will enjoined upon his heirs never to pledge, sell, or give away any of the works of Donatello, which he bequeathed to them.[2] Thus protected by a kind and wealthy patron, he pursued his studies with a freedom from care which in no wise abated his energy,

The value of Brunelleschi's friendship for Donatello.

and at the same time received from his friend Brunelleschi a salutary amount of frank and fearless criticism, the value of which he fully appreciated, as is shown in the history of his crucifix, the Christ of which Brunelleschi told him looked like a peasant. Somewhat chagrined, the young sculptor replied that it was easier to find fault with the work of another, than to do well one's self; to which his friend vouchsafed no reply, but practically answered him by modelling a crucifix more in harmony with his ideal, and then happening to meet him in the street one morning, invited him to breakfast at his studio. As they walked together, Brunelleschi, feigning a momentary engagement, begged Donatello to precede him with a supply of eggs, cheese, and fruit which he had just purchased in the market; and, following him unobserved to the door, saw him, as he caught sight of the crucifix, let go the corners of his apron, and heard him, as he stood surrounded by a mass of broken eatables, exclaim in an ecstasy of

[1] In corroboration of this remark, we have the testimony of his collaborator, Don Miniato Pitti, an Olivetan monk, who says, 'The first time Giorgio printed his work, I aided him greatly by contributing a quantity of tales *and an infinite number of lies*; but in the second edition he refused my help, and augmented it so much, and so mixed up and added to it, that I could no longer recognise my own falsehoods' (Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. p. 150, note).

[2] This injunction has been disregarded by the present Marchese Martelli, who has sold several of these inherited treasures.

admiration, 'By the side of this my Christ was indeed but a crucified peasant.'[1]

Donatello's first visit to Rome.

Shortly after the commission for the gate of the Baptistry had been given, the two friends went to Rome, where, overcome with admiration of the grandeur of the ruins which he then saw for the first time, Brunelleschi neglected food and rest in order to gain time for study; and, already filled with the project of crowning the Duomo of his native city with a cupola worthy of its noble proportions, especially devoted himself to the study of the dome of the Pantheon as the most suggestive of models. Donatello meanwhile was occupied in examining and making drawings of every piece of antique sculpture within the range of his observation, and in exhuming many fragments of cornices, capitals, and bas-reliefs with Brunelleschi's assistance; and as they one day dug up a vase filled with coins, were thenceforward frequently pointed out in the streets as treasure seekers. Their common enthusiasm about works of art is illustrated by Brunelleschi's journey from Florence to Cortona, in order to see a sarcophagus in the Duomo, of which Donatello had given him a glowing description.[2]

His studies there.

His return to 1406.

After spending two or three years at Rome, Donatello returned to Florence, and commenced his career as a sculptor, without however giving in his first works, any special evidence of the course of study which he had pursued, or showing any striking individuality. We have here another instance of the way in which an impression often lies dormant in the mind of a man of genius for years, and then suddenly inspires works, which though seemingly in contradiction with his actual life, are logically deducible from the past; an intellectual process almost identical with that of

[1] Donatello's crucifix is at Santa Croce; that by Brunelleschi is generally supposed to be the one at Santa Maria Novella. There is also a wooden crucifix at San Giorgio Maggiore in Vienna, which is variously attributed to Brunelleschi or Michelozzo.

[2] It represents the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, and still stands near the Cappella Tommaso in the Pieve di Cortona.

nature. The seed is sown, lies apparently dead in the earth, then quickens, and at last shoots up into tender leaves and flowers.

First works after his return. A.D. 1411.

The alto relievo of the Annunciation in the Cavalcante Chapel at Sta. Croce, and the statues of SS. Peter and Mark at Or San Michele[1] were probably sculptured during the first five or six years after his return from Rome. They are remarkable for no salient qualities, and do not tempt us to linger either for praise or blame, though Michael Angelo gives the St. Mark the negative praise, 'that no one could refuse to believe the gospel preached by such an honest-looking man.' But who could stop to look at Donatello's St. Mark, when he can see his St. George (see Plate XVII., Ch. V.) in an adjoining niche of the same building? A statue which deservedly ranks as the finest personification of a Christian hero ever wrought in marble. Resting one hand on the top of an oblong shield, while the other hangs straight by his side, he stands with erect head and piercing glance, as if about to turn upon a deadly enemy. Every line is indicative of the cool resolve which ensures triumph; every portion of his body, even to the slightly compressed fingers of the right hand, full of a dominant thought. In the base of the beautiful Gothic niche in which it stands, a spirited and admirably composed bas-relief, sadly injured by time, represents the combat between the Saint and the Dragon.

Statue of St. George.

We now come to a series of important works, in executing which Donatello was assisted by the Florentine architect and sculptor, Michelozzo Michelozzi.[2] They are the monuments of Pope John XXIII., of Cardinal Brancacci, and of Bartolomeo Aragazzi; the first of which, apart from its artistic merit, is historically interesting as commemorative of the great schism in the Church, and as the last papal tomb to be found out of Rome.[3]

[1] For documents relating to the St. Mark, vide Gualandi, *op. cit.* fourth series, pp. 104–108.

[2] Gaye, pp. 117 *et seq.*

[3] Gregorovius, *Tombeaux des Papes*, p. 143.

Few lives have been filled with more striking vicissitudes than that of this Pope, the Neapolitan Balthasar Cossa, who in his youth was successively renowned as a man of letters, an orator, a poet, and a soldier. While exercising the office of Papal Legate at Bologna, under Gregory XII. and Alexander V., he endeavoured by a series of treacherous attempts, to force the cities of the Romagna into obedience, and rendered himself in many ways so unpopular, that the Bolognese revolted against him immediately after his election as pope, seized and razed the fortress which he had garrisoned, and refused to come to terms until he consented to recognise their recovered liberty. At this time two other popes each claimed to be the rightful successor of St. Peter; namely Gregory XII., who, supported by King Ladislaus of Naples, then master of Rome,[1] had taken refuge at Naples, and Benedict XIII., who, recognised by France and Spain, lived as Pope at Avignon. The Œcumenic Council of Pisa had deposed Gregory and Benedict, but as they refused to submit, the Christian powers forced Pope John to consent to a council at Constance, which should definitely put an end to this scandalous schism. In order to settle the preliminary arrangements, he repaired to Cremona to meet the Emperor Sigismund, where both narrowly escaped death at the hands of Gabriolo Fondolo, lord of that city, who afterwards confessed that when he stood with them on the top of a lofty tower, the thought passed through his mind, that by precipitating them to the bottom, he might create a revolution in Christendom, which could be turned to his own advantage. Having escaped this unknown danger, Pope John proceeded on his way to the Council, where he was accused of crimes under *sixty-nine* different heads, and was then deposed and imprisoned at Heidelberg, by the new Pope Martin V., whom the council had elected in his stead. Having at last acknowledged the validity of this election, and knelt for forgiveness

Pope John XXIII.

A.D. 1409.

[1] Which he seized in 1408.

at the feet of his successor, he was pardoned and made a cardinal, only a few months before his death, which took place at Florence, in 1419. The inscription upon his tomb, which characterised him as 'quondam Papa,' gave offence to Pope Martin, who wished that epithet erased, but the chief magistrate refused, saying 'Quod scripsi, scripsi.'[1] The monument consists of a natural and unflattered portrait effigy lying on a couch of gilded bronze under a lunette, which contains a bas-relief of the Madonna and child with angels. The statuettes of Hope and Charity which stand in niches upon the front of the base are by Donatello, that of Faith is by Michelozzo.

His tomb.

While our two sculptors were working upon this tomb, they began that of Cardinal Brancacci,[2] the compatriot and warm partisan of Pope John, who crowned him at Bologna, and served him as vicar and legate at Naples. Many years before his death, which took place at Rome at an advanced age, he founded the hospital and church of St. Angelo a Nilo at Naples,[3] in which he was buried. His monument stands within an arched recess, from the top of which falls a heavy curtain, held back by two mourning genii, who look sadly down upon the cardinal as he lies upon the sarcophagus, which is sustained by three full length female figures. Upon its front is a relief of the Madonna enthroned and surrounded by angels, sculptured in that delicate sort of relief called

Cardinal Brancacci.

His monument.

[1] Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (father of Cosmo), had gained immense sums by banking operations, especially during the Council of Constance, when he lent money to the Pope; from this, perhaps, arose the story, that Pope John, in gratitude for his deliverance from prison, which, according to one account, had been brought about by Cosmo de' Medici, left him heir to an immense fortune. His will, however, proves that he made no such bequest (Cantu, *St. degli Italiani*, vol. ii. p. 967).

[2] 'Like Saul, his stature was greater than that of most men, and as his noble and great mind fully corresponded to his physical development, he was highly esteemed among the cardinals of the time' (Cardella, *Memorie dei Cardinali*, vol. ii. p. 304).

[3] Founded in 1385. The cardinal died in 1427. (Napoli, *Guida degli Scienziati*, vol. i. p. 385.)

Stiacciato, which, though scarcely raised above the surface, modulates by almost imperceptible gradations throughout the scale of parts and looks rather as if drawn than chiselled upon the marble. In it Donatello excelled all other sculptors; his great contemporaries the medallists Pisanello, Matteo di Pasta, and Sperandio used it on a small scale with the utmost skill, but never attempted it in heads of life size.[1] For grandeur and breadth this tomb stands alone among Italian works of the kind; the stern marked face of the cardinal, the two mourning genii simply and classically robed, who look like the choristers of a Greek tragedy, and form the most striking and dramatic embodiment of that Pisan type which we have so often had occasion to notice, and the three Caryatides who bear up the weight of funeral pomp, constitute a most striking and affecting 'ensemble.'[2]

Stiacciato relief.

Twelve years before his death, Bartolomeo Aragazzi,[3] the learned secretary of Pope Martin V., commissioned Donatello and Michelozzo to make his monument for the parish church of Montepulciano (his native town) at an expense of twenty-four thousand scudi. Such a use of his money corroborates the general opinion that he was as eminent for his vanity as for his poetry and learning. So indeed thought Lionardo Bruni,[4] who

Bartolomeo Aragazzi. A.D. 1427.

[1] Specimens of excessively flat relief are to be found in Egyptian sculpture of the earliest period known, and also subsequently to the twenty-sixth dynasty, between which the Egyptians discarded it for a species of incised pictures sunk beneath the level of the stone. The Assyrians also excelled in it, as is proved by the wonderful Kouyundjik reliefs in the British Museum; as did the Etruscans, as we see in the reliefs from Chiusi, preserved at Perugia and Paris. In the fifteenth century, its use was revived by Donatello, in the land once inhabited by that ancient people.

[2] This monument was commissioned by Cosmo de' Medici, the cardinal's executor. Donatello tells us in a letter (published by Gaye), that he was to be paid 850 florins, including the expense of its transportation from Pisa (where it was made) to Naples.

[3] *Biografia Universale*, vol. v. p. 137.

[4] L. Bruni, *Epistolæ*. The letter in question is addressed to Poggio Bracciolini (*Ep.* v. vol. ii. lib. vi. p. 45.)

in commenting upon it remarks, 'that no one who trusted in his own fame ever thought of erecting a monument to himself. 'What,' he says, 'can be more ignoble than to memorialise by a monument one whose life says nothing? Cyrus ordered his body to be laid in the earth, saying that no more noble material existed for its reception than that which produced flowers, fruits, and precious things; so Cæsar and Alexander, being of a like opinion, took no pains to erect their own monuments.'[1] In this same letter Bruni tells us, that while journeying in the district of Arezzo he fell in with the Aragazzi monument on its way to Montepulciano. The heavy load had stuck fast in the mud, from which all the efforts of the panting oxen could not liberate it. In despair one of the drivers (stopping to wipe the sweat from his brow) gave utterance to his feelings by exclaiming that he hoped the gods would damn all poets past and future. Interested as a man of letters to know the cause of his anger, Bruni asked him why he hated poets; to which the countryman replied, that a foolish and puffed-up man, lately deceased at Rome, had ordered that this marble monument should be erected to his memory in his native town, adding that people called him a poet, but that he had never heard him spoken of as such during his lifetime.

His monument.

All the pains that Aragazzi took, in order that his monument should be a perpetual memorial of him at Montepulciano, were in vain, for when the new church was built, it was taken down, and either from negligence or animosity (as tradition hath it) partially destroyed.[2] Many fragments scattered about the church are so extremely fine as to awaken a lively regret at this

[1] Aragazzi was associated with Poggio Bracciolini and Cincio Romano in bringing to light the works of Lactantius, Vitruvius, Priscianus, and many precious Latin and Greek MSS., which, says Filelfo, they liberated from the prisons in which the Germans and French had immured them (Bettinelli, *Risorgimento*, &c., vol. i. p. 262, note *a*).

[2] Abate Parigi, *Notizie della Città di Montepulciano*, p. 87, No. 71.

unfortunate catastrophe. Nothing, for example, in the whole range of Donatello's sculptures surpasses in beauty one of the two bas-reliefs set into the two first pillars of the central nave, which represents the Madonna seated, holding upon her knee the infant Saviour, who smiles tenderly upon the kneeling Aragazzi, while three lovely children cluster about her feet, upon the shoulder of one of whom the Divine infant rests his foot. Four figures, representing members of the Aragazzi family, are grouped around the Madonna's throne, and behind her head are seen two little angels bearing a garland. All Donatello's best characteristics are to be found in this work, which is admirable in composition, masterly in handling of form and treatment of surface, lovely in the winning grace of the children, and in the perfect sweetness and tenderness of the infant Saviour. The second relief, which is scarcely less fine, represents Aragazzi, clad in his robes of office, conversing with an elderly woman whom he holds by one hand, while he gives the other to one of two youths who follow her, accompanied by two monks. In the centre, looking up and reaching to the other figures, appear the three children of the other bas-relief. The effigy of the deceased poet (which lies just to the left of the great doorway of the church) being less flat in its surface planes, and less realistically worked out than is usual with Donatello, may perhaps be by Michelozzo. The remaining fragments of this monument are the base, now a part of the high altar, which is adorned with festoon-bearing children in low relief; two life-size statues, of Fortitude bearing a column, and Faith classically robed, her face full of character but wanting in beauty; and a life-size alto relievo of GOD the Father, with his hand raised in the act of blessing.

Bas-relief by Donatello at Siena.

One other joint work by Donatello and Michelozzo is a bronze bas-relief, representing the feast of Herod, on the Font of the Baptistry at Siena.[1] Of all the reliefs about this font it is

[1] Commissioned in 1427 for the sum of 720 lire (Milanesi, *Doc.* vol. ii. p. 134). This was the relief originally ordered from Jacopo della Fonte. The

certainly the most dramatic, as that by Ghiberti is the most beautiful. Herod shrinks back with horror from the sight of John the Baptist's head, which a kneeling soldier presents to him in a charger, while two children, a guest who covers his face with his hands, and two other persons whose animated gestures bespeak their pain at the spectacle, carry out his feelings, and give admirable unity to the composition. Behind the table at which the tyrant sits rises the prison wall, through whose open arcades the gaoler is seen consigning the prisoner's head to an attendant.

Donatello's second visit to Rome. A.D. 1433.

Early in the year 1433, Donatello was called to Rome by an artist named Simone[1] (whom Vasari erroneously calls his brother), to give his opinion about the grave slab of Pope Martin V., which he had modelled, and was about to cast in bronze for the Basilica of the Lateran; and as he happened to arrive there shortly before the coronation of the Emperor Sigismund, he was induced to co-operate with Simone in ordering the city fêtes for that occasion, which were projected on a scale of great magnificence. Very probably he lingered in Rome throughout this year, which was that of Cosmo de' Medici's exile, and did not return to Florence until after his friend and patron had been brought back in triumph. During the next fifteen or sixteen years he remained at home, and it is to this period that we should assign a number of his undated works, which belong to two classes,

Undated works.

grave slab of Giovanni Pecci, bishop of Grosseto, was cast by Donatello about the same time. It is let into the pavement of the Duomo at Siena, before the altar of San Ansano. Bishop Pecci, who died in 1426, was made bishop in 1417. He was a noble Sienese, cavalier of Jerusalem, apostolic protonotary, and canon of the Duomo (Ugurgieri, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 213). A small relief of the same subject exists in the Musée Wicar at Lille, confidently ascribed to Donatello by J. C. Robinson, Esq. Never having seen it, I am unable to state if it be identical in treatment with that at Siena. It is in very flat relief, like the circular relief upon the Brancacci tomb and the Charge to Peter in the Kensington Museum, No. 7629.

[1] This artist is perhaps identical with Simon Ghini, the Florentine sculptor and goldsmith. The inventory of Donatello's property, published by Gaye in the *Carteggio*, settles the fact, that Donatello never had a brother of this name.

those of a Realistic, and those of a Classical type. The most striking examples of the first, in which truth, irrespective of fitness for artistic representation, is alone aimed at, are the Magdalen in the Baptistry at Florence, and the St. John in the gallery of Uffizi. In the wasted figure of the Magdalen, half hidden under a mass of dishevelled hair, in her attenuated limbs, which seem hardly able to sustain even so frail a burden, Donatello worked out, as literally as possible, his idea of a woman who had long lived upon the coarsest and scantiest food, and snatched uneasy slumbers upon the hard rock which served her as a place of penitence and prayer. In like manner, when he conceived his St. John, he pictured to himself the effect which long wanderings in the desert, a diet of locusts and wild honey, and no protection from storm and tempest but a scanty garment of camel's hair, would have upon the human frame, and he produced a gaunt skeleton figure, his face lighted up by a wild fanaticism, and his lips half open to utter that prophetic message, in the delivery of which his mind is completely absorbed. These works are neither ideal nor beautiful, and are in some respects even repulsive, but they are valuable and interesting as true and possible representations of the persons whom they portray; and show that Donatello did not consider that the object of art was simply to give pleasure to the eye, and therefore regarded plump Magdalens, and St. Johns of youthful and ideal beauty, as untruthful and absurd. One of his rare faculties was that of judging the amount of finish necessary for a figure destined to be seen at a considerable distance, and as with Phidias, so with him, a statue which in his studio appeared a complete failure, excited the greatest admiration when seen in its proper place. It stands in a niche in the third story of the Campanile at Florence and is known from its bald head as 'Il Zuccone.'[1] While working

Those realistic in style.

The Magdalen.

The St. John.

Donatello's knowledge of effect.

Il Zuccone.

[1] It is the portrait of a certain Barduccio Chierichoni. The other two figures in adjoining niches, also by Donatello, are of St. John and the Prophet Jeremiah.

upon it Donatello was heard to say 'Speak! speak!' and so much did he esteem it, that his favourite mode of clinching an argument was to swear 'alla fe' che porto al mio Zuccone.' No one could understand or appreciate it but the sculptor, until it was put in its niche, when every broad fold of its drapery produced an effect upon those who looked up at it from the Piazza. So again his bas-reliefs of singing and dancing boys, in a narrow corridor at the Uffizi, appear coarsely handled, whereas if we could have seen them on the balustrade of the organ in the Duomo, as he intended, we should doubtless find them far more effective than the highly-finished reliefs under them, which were sculptured by Luca della Robbia for a like place, but which gain greatly by their present proximity to the eye. This faculty of calculating effect in proportion to distance, is again manifested in the bas-reliefs upon the pulpit outside the Duomo at Prato, from which the girdle of the Madonna is from time to time exhibited to the people. The troop of merry children sculptured upon it who, entwined like vine tendrils, go dancing and singing on their way, are varied with admirable effect by the deep and angular edge-cuttings of those in the foreground, which mark clear shadows upon the flatter relief of the figures behind them, and render their outlines distinct even at a considerable distance. (See Plate XVIII.) With a view to protect them from injury, their surfaces are kept broad and flat throughout, so that those parts of the figures which are in the highest relief do not protrude beyond the cornice, or the pilasters which divide the pulpit. The desire to protect his work, which is here so happily accomplished, gives a stiffness and want of ease to the bronze group of Judith and Holofernes, whose extremities are kept within the bounding lines of the two figures. Although the resolute air of Judith as she stands above the body of her victim is perfectly in keeping with her character and mission, this seems to us one of Donatello's least interesting works. After the expulsion of Piero de' Medici from Florence, it was removed from the Palazzo Medici and set up on the Ringhiera or

Reliefs for an organ balustrade.

Pulpit at Prato ordered in 1434.

Group of Judith and Holofernes.

Donatello, sc

FROM THE

PULPIT AT PRATO

platform of the Palazzo Vecchio, as a warning to tyrants of the fate which awaited them, with the inscription, 'Exemplum Sal. Pub. Cives posuere 1495.'[1]

Works less decidedly realistic.

Between his extremely naturalistic style, of which the Magdalen and St. John already described, may be taken as the types, and that closely approaching to the Antique, there are many works by Donatello, decidedly realistic, but far more pleasing, because less exaggerated. Such are the statue and bust of St. John, in the Martelli Palace, whose charm lies in an extreme refinement and truth, and a delicacy of treatment, combined with great individuality, especially in the bust. The same qualities give value to another bust of St. John, in a room of the parish priest's house, adjoining the Chiesa della Commenda at Faenza, which is singularly refined, as well as simple, true, and natural in expression. In it, as in the profile bust of the same saint (a bas-relief in dark stone at the Uffizi), the hair is wonderfully treated, growing in the most natural way from the head, and falling about it in ringlets perfectly graceful in line, and almost silken in quality. (See Plate XIX.). The ancients were, indeed, unrivalled in their treatment of hair in the abstract, but no sculptor, ancient or modern, ever surpassed Donatello in giving it all its qualities of growth and waywardness.

A.D. 1456.

Other representations of St. John by Donatello are a wooden statue in the Florentine chapel of the church of the Frari at Venice, and one of bronze in the Duomo at Siena, neither marked by any salient qualities, and one in wood in the sacristy of St. John Lateran, of which the limbs, and especially the hands, are beautifully modelled. We have already frequently referred to the friendship which existed between Cosmo de' Medici

A.D. 1433–1434.

[1] Baldinucci, vol. i. p. 405. Gualandi says, that the inscription also refers to the Duke of Athens, who, like Piero de' Medici, suffered expulsion for his abuse of power in 1344. In 1504, the 'Judith' was moved to the Loggia de' Lanzi, to make room for Michel Angelo's 'David' (Gualandi, *op. cit.* fourth series, p. 103).

and our sculptor, of whose counsel the Merchant Prince largely availed himself in selecting works of art for his private collection, and of his skill in restoring those which were mutilated. He also commissioned copies in relief of eight of his finest Gems for the cortile of his palace, and various original works, of which one of the most remarkable is the charming bronze statue of David, now in the Uffizi (see Frontispiece), which, without being an imitation, is a happy example of the way in which the antique may influence without enslaving an original mind. The youthful, undraped hero, his face overshadowed by a shepherd's hat wreathed with ivy, stands with one foot upon the head of his giant enemy, grasping a huge sword in his right hand, and resting his left against his hip. The care bestowed upon the whole work is visible even in the helmet of Goliath, which is adorned with a beautiful Stiacciato relief of children dragging a triumphal car.[1] This bronze is in every way superior to the marble David, also in the Uffizi, which seems to us false in conception, awkward in pose, and theatrical in sentiment. In the same gallery may be seen a delicate little relief in bronze of the triumph of Bacchus, who, stretched upon a car, holds a little satyr high above his head, while one Amorino pushes it from behind, two sit upon the pole, two drag it, and twelve others dance and sing, clashing their cymbals and trailing bunches of grapes. The celebrated bronze Pătĕra from the Martelli collection, now in the Kensington Museum, is a still more absolute, and truly admirable imitation of the antique, so close, indeed, in design as well as in execution, that it has been supposed by some persons to have been copied from an antique gem.[2] The

Copies from, and imitations of the antique.

[1] It is, perhaps, the first nude statue made in Italy since the days of the Empire.

[2] This supposition is strengthened by the fact, that Gori, in his account of the engraved gems belonging to the Medici family, mentions two as antique, each of them representing one of the figures in Donatello's Pătĕra (H. De Triqueti, *Fine Arts Quarterly*, May 1864). The Directors of the Kensington Museum bought this work for 600*l*.

half-length figures of Silenus and a Bacchante upon it, the mask surmounted by a tablet, inscribed

NATURA FOVET
QUÆ
NECESSITAS URGET,

the horn or 'rhyton,' into which milk flows from the breast of the female figure, the thyrsus, and the vine branches, trophies, &c., with the terminal figure in the background, are marvels of workmanship elaborately wrought to the minutest particulars. The damascened work, and the foliated ornaments in gold and silver with which its details are enriched, add to the gem-like effect of this Pătĕra, or mirror as it should be more properly called, which is indeed unique of its kind.

Donatello's biographers mention many works formerly in the Medici Gallery, as well as in private Florentine collections, which are now scattered without possibility of certain identification, or irrecoverably lost. To the former category belongs a beautiful profile bust in relief of a woman, her features of a dignified and noble cast, and her hair classically knotted behind her head, which we may suppose to be that described by Borghini as once in the possession of Baccio Valori;[1] and a profile head of St. Cecilia (see Plate XX.), worked out in relief, which in parts hardly rises more than the thickness of a sheet of paper above the surface, though full of the most delicate alternations, and modelled with consummate skill and truth to nature. Her head is encircled with a diadem, from beneath which her hair here and there escapes in locks so fine as to be only discoverable by the closest observation. Her lovely features, drooping eye, and slightly inclined head, recall Dante's description of Beatrice in one of his most exquisite sonnets:[2]

[1] *Il Riposo di Borghini*, p. 259; and Baldinucci, vol. i. p. 407. Bocchi, in *Le Bellezze di Firenze*, describes Valori's collection. Professor Salvini, of Pisa, sold this relief several years ago to H. Vaughan, Esq.

[2] *Vita Nuova*, p. 96, ed. Barbera, 1861. The St. Cecilia belongs to Lord Elcho.

Ella sen va sentendosi laudare,
Benignamente d'umiltà vestita,
E par che sia una cosa venuta
Di cielo in terra a miracol mostrare.

Another undated work, and one of the finest and most characteristic of the master, is the Christ in the Sepulchre, supported by angels, at the Kensington Museum (No. 7,577). Such also are the 'stiacciato' relief of Christ giving the keys to St. Peter (No. 7,629),[1] and a charming Madonna and Child, lately added to the same collection.

Donatello goes to Padua. A.D. 1451.

In the year 1451, Donatello left Florence for Padua, and on his way thither stopped at Modena to make arrangements for the erection of a bronze statue to Borso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, who, though a despot without conscience or heart, an epitome of every vice, and an obstinate hater of every form of liberty, was in great favour with the Modenese, from having at the time of his accession bestowed upon them important municipal privileges.[2] The Duke was requested to send his portrait to Modena, and to point out the costume in which he should prefer to be represented, and Donatello agreed to cast his statue in bronze, within a year, and to select suitable marble for its base, in the quarries of the neighbouring mountains.[3] He, however, never fulfilled this contract, on account of his pressing occupations, although he renewed his promises to the special envoy sent by the Modenese after they had patiently waited two years.

Gattamelata, M. Jan. 16, 1443.

Immediately after the death of the famous Condottiere Gattamelata, Captain-General of the Venetian forces,[4] 'the Signory decided to devote the sum of two hundred and fifty ducats, to the celebration of his funeral obsequies in the Church of San Antonio at Padua, where a sarcophagus was prepared for the reception

[1] Formerly belonged to the Salviati family at Florence.
[2] Rio (*Art Chrétien*, vol. iii. pp. 407 *et seq.*) quotes Frizzi, vol. iv.
[3] Campori, p. 185. It was to cost 300 florins.
[4] Sanuto's *Diary*, *Muratori Rer. It.* vol. xxii. p. 1106.

ST CECILIA

of his body, and to order from the Florentine sculptor Donatello a bronze equestrian statue of the deceased Captain-General, to be placed at the entrance of the field adjoining the Church.' Donatello accordingly came to Padua to execute this commission, which was one of peculiar difficulty to him, because his mind had been altogether occupied with works of an entirely different character, and he had probably never seen an antique equestrian statue, with the exception of that of Marcus Aurelius,[1] while Italy possessed no modern work of the kind, whose errors or excellencies might warn or guide him. Since the days of Justinian, no equestrian statue had been erected in Italy until, in 1233, the Milanese caused an equestrian bas-relief of their Podesta Oldrado di Tresseno, the first burner of heretics at Milan, to be set up in their city. As might be expected from the period to which it belongs, this relief, which still exists on the outside of the Palace of the Archives, is but a tame and spiritless work, representing the Podesta seated upon a ponderous steed, who proceeds at a solemn trot, well befitting the heaviness of his limbs.

Equestrian statues in Italy.

A.D. 1273.

More than forty years later, the inhabitants of Lucca raised equestrian statues to Tommaso and Bonifazio degli Obizzi, members of a great Guelph family, of whose style and appearance no record remains. Nothing more of the kind was attempted until the middle of the fifteenth century, when Niccolò di Giovanni Baroncelli, and Antonio di Cristofero, both scholars of Brunelleschi, were commissioned by Lionello d'Este, a natural son of the Marquis Niccolò[2] to make an equestrian statue of his

[1] Found in the Forum A.D. 1187; set up in the Piazza of the Lateran by Pope Sixtus IV. in 1471; and thence moved by Michel Angelo to the Campidoglio.

[2] The Marquis Niccolò, who reigned at Ferrara from 1393 to 1441, was the grandfather of the Duke Borso, whose statue was to have been made for Modena by Donatello. The statue of Niccolò d'Este was destroyed in 1796. Antonio was probably son of the painter Cristofero di Ferrara, who flourished in 1380 (Citadella, *Cat. Ist.* vol. i. p. 15). Contract given in a letter from the Abate

father, who, bastard himself, by what M. Rio styles 'le droit coutumier de son domaine,' had excluded legitimate children from the succession in his favour. Judging from the six bronze life-size figures cast by Niccolò Baroncelli, his son Giovanni, and his scholar, Domenico di Paris of Padua, for an altar in the Duomo at Ferrara, this statue of the Marquis Niccolò must have been executed in a hard, unmeaning style, without spirit or life. About the time that the Baroncelli cast this group at Ferrara, Donatello cast that of Gattamelata at Padua. Being more conversant with human than equine anatomy, he succeeded less well with the horse than with the rider, who, dressed in armour, and holding the baton of command in his left hand, while the reins are gathered in his right, sits somewhat stiffly, though with considerable dignity, on the back of a ponderous war-horse, whose head wants nobility and fire, and whose heavy limbs seem ill adapted for pursuit or flight. Close observers have also remarked that like the bronze horse which bears Bartolomeo Coleoni at Venice, like that painted by Paolo Uccello at Florence, and like many other painted and sculptured steeds, not even excepting some in the Elgin Marbles, this horse lifts two legs on the same side, which being contrary to nature, surprises us in the work of one who studied her so carefully as Donatello. The wooden model for it, which is kept in the great hall of the Palazzo della Ragione at Padua, was once covered with skins so as to resemble life, and ridden by a gigantic figure of Jupiter at some public games held by the Count Capodilista. Lodovico Lazzarelli, a contemporary poet, sang its praises as superior to the works of Dædalus, Phidias, or Praxiteles.[1]

Equestrian statue of Gattamelata.

Lovers of Donatello will find the bronzes which he made for

Donatello's bronzes at S. Antonio.

Antonelli. It was to cost 400 gold ducats, equal to 583 scudi and 20 bajocchi. See Saggiatore, *Giornale Romano*, vol. i. p. 400; vide Gualandi, fourth series, pp. 33—48, and fifth series, pp. 178—183.

[1] Lazzarelli was crowned with laurel by the Emperor Frederic III. (Cicognara, *op. cit.* vol. vi. pp. 391, 392).

the high altar at San Antonio, far more worthy of their attention than the statue of Gattamelata, which stands outside its portals. The most important among them are those representing some of the miracles worked by St. Anthony, such as that in which he stands amid a crowd of people, who by various and expressive gestures testify their wonder at discovering the heart of a miser, who is stretched upon a bier near by, lying in his money chest, amongst his ducats. One of the adjoining reliefs is also by Donatello, the other was probably modelled after his design by his scholars and assistants, of whom fifteen or twenty were constantly employed under his direction. These and two other reliefs in the sacrament chapel,[1] where Gattamelata and his son lie buried, being, with one exception, the only examples of what Donatello could achieve in Ghiberti's especial domain, force comparison upon us. We at once recognise, that though worked out in different planes like Ghiberti's, and treated in perspective, with architectural backgrounds, they are far less pictorial—i.e. they aim at no cheating of the senses; and though less rich, less beautiful, and less elaborately composed, they are more sculptural, because the figures are flatter in surface, and grouped with less pointed attempt to make them appear nearer to, or farther from, the eye. The eight small reliefs about the altar, and the two set into the base of Donatello's life-size statues of SS. Louis and Prosdocimo, which represent in low relief angels singing and playing upon musical instruments, are admirable examples of his peculiar style. Four more of these angel-musicians, a dead Christ with angels, and a Madonna and Child in the chapel of the Sacrament; a crucifix, a deposition in coloured clay, the statues of SS. Francis and Anthony, and a Madonna and Child, between SS. Daniel and Giustina in different parts of the choir; and the symbols of the Evangelists, of which the angel of St. Matthew is peculiarly beautiful, were cast under his direction by Giovanni and Antonio

[1] This chapel was erected by Gattamelata's wife, Giacoma della Leonessa (Gonzati, *La Basilica di S. Antonio*, vol. i. p. 53, vol. ii. p. 129).

Celino di Pisa, Urbano di Cortona, and Francesco Valenti. Their carefully finished surfaces are hammered out in imitation of required texture, and we see in the most unimportant parts, that the conscientious master did not consider them finished until he had fairly exhausted every resource of his art upon them.[1]

It is pleasant to find that these bronzes obtained due appreciation at Padua, and that Donatello became the object of the most enthusiastic encomiums, so much so, indeed, that he said he must return home, where the risk of becoming vain would be done away by a healthy modicum of abuse. He accordingly left Padua towards the end of 1456 and went to Venice, remaining there long enough to make the already mentioned wooden figure of St. John for the central niche of the carved, gilded, and painted altar in the Florentine chapel of the Frari church,[2] and then proceeded to Faenza, where he sculptured the lovely bust of St. John, to which we have already referred, and a wooden statue of the same saint for the convent of the Padri Riformati, which is now disfigured by paint and restoration. He probably also, in the March of the following year, went to Ferrara, to act as one of the judges upon the statues made by the Baroncelli for the Duomo,[3] and thence returned to Florence, where he resided during the rest of his life.

Donatello at Venice. A.D. 1456.

He returns to Florence.

Although now more than sixty years old he was still full of vigour and strength, thanks to his simple and regular habits. Many of the works which we have already described as of uncertain date may belong to this period of his life; some few which do so undoubtedly remain to be mentioned.

[1] For account of money paid to Donatello for these bronzes, see Gonzati, *op. cit.* Doc. lxxxi. vol. i. See also plate 11, pp. 132, 27; vol. i. p. 232.

[2] The other statues and the intaglios are by Florentine artists, among whom a certain Geronimo is mentioned by Zanotto (*Guida di Venezia*, p. 466).

[3] That he was called to Ferrara in 1456 is proved by a document in the cathedral archives (*Il Saggiatore*, vol. i. p. 400).

Among them is the very ornate niche on the outside of the church of Or San Michele which contains Verocchio's group of the Incredulity of St. Thomas. It consists of a round arch, resting upon twisted columns, under a low gable, supported by pilasters of the Corinthian order. Masks, wreaths, and other devices adorn its flat spaces. Another work of this time is the bronze statue of St. John in the Duomo at Siena, probably made during the year after his return from Padua, as he is known to have then visited Siena to contract for a bronze door to the Baptistry, which for some unknown reason he never made. Subsequent works. A.D. 1463.

He was constantly employed during the last years of his life in the church of San Lorenzo, at Florence, where he modelled the Four Evangelists in stucco, several busts of saints, and the small bronze door adjoining the altar in the sacristry, and also designed and commenced two bronze pulpits, which were finished by his pupil Bertoldo.[1] Although the reliefs upon them, illustrating our Lord's Passion, are exaggerated in feeling, and less fine in execution than his Paduan bronzes, they prove that if his hand had grown weaker, his mind still retained its vigour of conception.[2] The last and the poorest of his works is the bronze statue of St. Louis of Toulouse at Santa Croce, which he himself esteemed lightly, and for whose want of significance he is said to have apologised, by saying that it was the better in keeping with the character of a man who had been fool enough to exchange a kingdom for a convent.

While working at San Lorenzo, Donatello received from Cosmo de' Medici a sufficient sum of money to support himself and four assistant workmen. Although thus well provided for, he spent little upon himself, and as Cosmo thought, dressed too Cosmo de' Medici's kindness to Donatello.

[1] Bertoldo was clever as a caster of battle pieces. See a relief in the Uffizi by him. His best work is the medal of Maometto II. (Morelli, *op. cit.* p. 119, note 30).

[2] See a letter about them, written by Bandinelli to Cosimo I. (Bottari, *Lett. Pitt.* vol. i. p. 51).

poorly for a man of his standing; he therefore sent him a present of a red mantle, hood, and surcoat, but to no purpose, as Donatello promptly returned them with thanks, saying that they were much too fine for him to wear. He survived this kind patron and friend two years, during which he was cared for by his son and successor, Piero de' Medici, who gave him a life-pension, in lieu of a farm at Caffagiuolo, which he considered too troublesome a present to accept. He was for some time paralytic and bed-ridden, until he was relieved by death from that melancholy state on March 13, 1466. Wishing in death, as in life, to be near Cosmo de' Medici, he had requested to be buried at San Lorenzo, where accordingly his funeral obsequies were celebrated, in presence of all the artists in the city and an immense concourse of his fellow-citizens, who were desirous of paying the last tribute of respect to one so full of genius, and so beloved for liberality and generosity.

Death of Donatello. A.D. 1466.

Our account of Donatello's school, and our estimate of his kindliness of nature, would be incomplete without the history of his relations with Nanni di Banco, son of a Florentine artist, named Antonio, who was attached to the Duomo in 1406.

Nanni di Banco.

Nanni was a man of some property, who practised sculpture rather for love than gain, and who, though a man of talent, had never had that thorough education common among the great artists of his day. He therefore often got into trouble, out of which he was happily extricated by his friend Donatello, to whose good nature he never appealed in vain. Thus, when he had finished a group of four saints for the façade of Or San Michele, he discovered that they were too big for the niche destined for their reception, and in despair consulted Donatello, who promised to help him out of his trouble, if he would give a supper to him and his workmen; to which Nanni having joyfully consented, Donatello set to work, and after knocking off portions of the shoulders and arms of the four saints, brought them into such close contact, that they could be placed in the

niche without difficulty. Donatello's friendship for Nanni was again proved when the 'Arte de' Calzolai,' considering that he asked too high a price for a statue of St. Philip, which they desired to place in their niche at Or San Michele, gave the commission to Nanni di Banco, who agreed to accept in payment such a sum as any competent judge might deem just. The statue being finished, the Hosiers, having perfect confidence in Donatello's fairness despite the slight which they had put upon him, made him judge of its value, and he, considering that Nanni had spent a great deal more time in making it than he himself should have done, took his revenge and served his friend by naming a yet higher price than he had himself asked of them. The four saints and the St. Philip are short, thick set, heavy figures, without style or life, and by no means so good as the bas-relief under the niche of the four saints, in which Nanni represented a sculptor cutting the figure of a boy out of a block of marble (see Frontispiece), and a stone-cutter carving the capital of a column. These figures are represented without any attempt to idealise, and are valuable as records of costume. Nanni di Banco made one of the four Evangelist statues in the Duomo, and is the reputed author of the statue of St. Eloy at Or San Michele[1] as well as of the bas-relief of the Madonna 'della Cintola' (over a side door of the Duomo), which most writers attribute to Giacomo della Quercia.[2]

Estimate of Donatello.

With the exception of Michael Angelo, no Tuscan sculptor had so marked an influence as Donatello upon the art of his time. He may, indeed, be called the first and greatest of Christian sculptors, as, despite his great love and close study of classical art, all his works are Christian in subject and in feeling, unless positive imitations of the Antique. It is not easy, therefore, to understand why many writers have called Ghiberti a Christian,

[1] See Appendix to this chapter, letter B.

[2] See *Life of Giacomo della Quercia,* ch. iv. 'Sienese School.'

and Donatello a Pagan in art. Both loved the Antique equally well, and each owed to the study of it his greatest excellence, but certainly no work by Ghiberti can be pointed out so Christian in spirit as the St. George, the St. John, the Magdalen, and many of Donatello's bas-reliefs. As a man, as well as an artist, he approached far more closely to the ideal of the Christian character, being confessedly humble, charitable, and kind to all around him; a firm friend, and an honest, upright, simple-hearted man, whose fair fame is not marred by a single blot.

CHRONOLOGY.

Lorenzo Ghiberti—	A.D.
Born	1381
Goes to Rimini	1400
Competes for the gate of the Baptistry at Florence	1401—1402
Receives the commission	1403
Casts the statue of St. John for Or San Michele	1414
Receives a commission to make two bas-reliefs for the Font at Siena	1417
Makes a mitre and cope button for Pope Martin V.	1419
Models and casts the statue of St. Matthew for Or San Michele	1419—1422
Grave slab of Fra Lionardo di Stagio Dati	1424
Finishes the first gate of the Baptistry gate	1424
Grave slab of Ludovico degli Obizzi	1424
Receives commission for the second Baptistry Gate	1424
Grave slab of Bartolomeo Valori	1427
Finishes the two bas-reliefs for the Siena font	1427
Makes the Cassa of S. Zenobius	1427
Makes the Cassa for the three saints—Proto, Giacinto, and Nemesio	1428
Makes a mitre for Pope Eugenius IV.	1439
Finishes the bas-reliefs of his second Baptistry gate	1447
Heads, ornaments, &c. of this gate finished, and gate set up	1452
Dies at Florence	1455

DONATELLO— A.D.

Born 1386

Goes to Rome . . . . . 1403—1404

Returns to Florence . . . . . 1406?

Makes an alto-relievo of the Annunciation for the Cavalcanti chapel at Santa Croce, and statue of St. Mark at Or San Michele . . . Dates unknown

Statue of S. Peter at Or San Michele . . . 1411

Statue of S. George . . . Date unknown

Monuments of Pope John XXIII. in the Baptistry at Florence; of Cardinal Brancacci in St. Angelo a Nilo at Naples; and of Bartolomeo Aragazzi at Montepulciano . . . . 1425—1427

Bronze bas-relief on font at Siena, ordered in . . 1427

Goes to Rome (and probably then makes the wooden statue of St. John in the Sacristy of St. John Lateran) . 1433

Bas-reliefs on pulpit outside the Duomo at Prato, ordered in 1434

Until 1451 resides at Florence, during which period he sculptured the Magdalen in the Baptistry, the marble St. John in the Uffizi, Il Zuccone for the Campanile, the bas-reliefs for the balustrade of the organ of the Duomo, now in the Uffizi, the group of Judith and Holofernes placed under the Loggia de' Lanzi, the statue and bust of St. John in the Palazzo Martelli, the profile-relief of St. John in the Uffizi. Restores antique statues, makes a bronze pătĕra (formerly in the Martelli palace, now in the South Kensington Museum), and copies eight gems in bas-relief for the courtyard of the Medici palace. Casts the bronze David now in the Uffizi, and a relief of the Triumph of Bacchus in the same gallery; and sculptures the marble statue of David (also in the Uffizi), the profile head of a woman (belonging to H. Vaughan, Esq.), and the St. Cecilia (now the property of Lord Elcho); also a Christ in the Sepulchre, and Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter, now with the other reliefs in the South Kensington Museum . . 1434—1451

Goes to Padua 1451

Makes the statue of Gattamelata, and the bronze reliefs and statues in the Basilica of S. Antonio; leaves Padua . 1456

Wooden statue of St. John in the church of the Frari at Venice; bust of St. John at Faenza; goes to Ferrara in March 1457

Returns to Florence; sculptures niche outside of Or San Michele; and casts bronze statue of St. John for the Duomo at Siena 1463

	A.D.
Last years of his life occupied at San Lorenzo upon the stuccoes, busts, and small bronze doors in the Sacristy, and the two pulpits in the Duomo.	
Dies at Florence, March 13	1466

GROUP FROM GHIBERTI'S SECOND BAPTISTRY GATE.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SCHOLARS OF DONATELLO AND VEROCCHIO.

MICHELOZZO DI BARTOLOMEO DI GHERARDO MICHELOZZI, whose name has been so frequently mentioned with that of Donatello in the preceding chapter, was born at Florence in the year 1396.[1]

Michelozzo.

Although, as we have already shown, he was eminent as a sculptor, he is still more to be remembered with Brunelleschi and Alberti as a leader in the Early Renaissance or First Revival of classical architecture in Italy. While assisting Donatello in making the monuments of Pope John, Cardinal Brancacci, and Bartolomeo Aragazzi, he was also employed by his friend and patron Cosmo de' Medici, in building the Medici (now Riccardi) Palace, after a design which was preferred to one offered by Brunelleschi, as more suitable for the residence of a citizen, and which in accordance with Cosmo's ideas, rivalled in style and scale the imperial and patrician residences of ancient Rome.

Architect of the Medici Palace.

Its mixed character.

With the Doric and Corinthian pilasters, the round arched windows, and the bold and magnificent cornice which revealed this intent, Michelozzo happily mingled an original Florentine element, admirably illustrative of the insecure times in which he built, and created a type which was followed in the Pitti, Strozzi, and other Florentine palaces.[2]

[1] Ricci, *op. cit.* Index to vol. iii. See his 'Denunzia de' Beni' in Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 117 *et seq.*

[2] The Pitti, begun by Brunelleschi, was continued by Michelozzo, and

This noble building, in which Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici garnered up those treasures of art which now form the nucleus of so many public and private collections,[1] was saved by the guards
A.D. 1494. from being sacked when Piero de' Medici was expelled from Florence; but when Charles VIII. left it, the French carried off everything portable, and had it not been for the energetic remonstrances of the Gonfaloniere Soderini, it would have undoubtedly been levelled to the ground by the enemies of the Medici.[2] Though Michelozzo led the Renaissance movement in Tuscany, jointly with Brunelleschi, he propagated it alone in the north of
A.D. 1433 —1434. Italy, during the year of exile which he spent with Cosmo de' Medici at Venice and Milan.[3]

Michelozzo's works in the north of Italy.

Among the edifices which he erected in the former city, was the Library of San Giorgio Maggiore, which Cosmo caused to be built in gratitude for the shelter afforded him in the convent adjoining the church, and which he endowed with many precious manuscripts and books.[4] While residing in this convent Michelozzo sculptured a wooden crucifix, still preserved in the church of San Giorgio Maggiore, which is powerfully felt, carefully studied, and admirably modelled, though extremely painful from its thoroughly naturalistic representation of agony, and as such, wanting in that triumph of spirit over matter which marked our Lord's death.[5]

finished by Ammanati (Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo*, vol. i. p. 69; Ricci, vol. ii. pp. 466, 519).

[1] Cantu, *op. cit.* vol. iv. p. 513, note 13. The rings, cameos, and intaglios were valued at 2,624 gold florins, vases at 8110, and jewels at 17,689.

[2] Michael Angelo is falsely accused of having advised, that after its destruction, the ground on which it stood should be converted into a piazza, to be called the Piazza de Muli, in allusion to the obstinacy of the Medici (Ricci, vol. ii. p. 265).

[3] Selvatico, *op. cit.* p. 504.

[4] These are supposed to have perished when the library was destroyed, and the monastery rebuilt in the seventeenth century (Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Italiana*, vol. vi. part i. p. 102).

[5] Cicognara, Borghini, and Morroni, attribute it to Michelozzo. Vide

In Milan also he left his mark, for when Duke Francesco Sforza made Cosmo a present of the Palazzo Vismara,[1] Michelozzo, restored and adorned it, making it one of the most beautiful private residences in the city.[2] Nothing now remains to attest its former splendour but the great doorway, which is elaborately sculptured in a style evidently formed under Donatello's influence. Upon its architrave are the greyhound, the palm, and the hand, cognizances of the Duke, under which, in a medallion, are introduced his portrait and that of his wife Beatrice d'Este. At the bottom of the side pilasters are two figures clad in armour, and above are sculptured two richly dressed women, who hold up their flowing robes with one hand, and with the other grasp spears, upon whose points hang eagle-crowned helmets.

Oct. 1434. Michelozzo's works at Florence.

After his return to Florence with the Duke, Michelozzo displayed great skill in restoring the lower story of the Palazzo Vecchio, which had become dangerously weakened by the weight of the upper stories. He also built the Villa of Careggi for Cosmo de' Medici, who lived and died there (as did Lorenzo the Magnificent), as well as the Villas Caffagiolo and Mozzi; and enlarged and rebuilt the convent of St. Mark, where he himself was buried, and where Savonarola lived through so many years of his eventful life. The only examples of his skill as a sculptor, besides those already mentioned, are the silver statuette of St. John the Baptist on the altar of the Opera del Duomo at Florence, and the charming little St. John over the door of the Canonica opposite the Baptistry. (See Frontispiece.) The

Cicogna, *Iscrizione Veneti*, vol. iv. p. 313. Some writers have supposed it to be the one which Brunelleschi sculptured in competition with Donatello.

[1] *Via de Bossi*, No. 1174.

[2] In the MS. *Treatise upon Architecture*, by Ant. Filarete, lib. xxv., this palace is described, but without mention of the architect. Morelli (*Not. del Disegno*, pp. 160–165) quotes this description, and points out the fact that Vasari borrowed his notice from Filarete, and himself supplied the name of Michelozzo, judging that Cosmo employed him to carry out all his architectural enterprises. Ricci (vol. ii. p. 612) doubts it, though from its style we see no reason why he should do so.

great and good Fra Beato painted him in his picture of the Deposition, as a man with a black hood upon his head, in the act of giving the dead body of our Lord into the arms of a disciple.

Antonio Filarete.

The Palazzo Vismara, which we have just spoken of as restored by Michelozzo, is mentioned by the architect and sculptor Antonio Averulino (surnamed Filarete), in a MS. treatise upon architecture, dedicated to Piero de' Medici, and preserved in the Magliabecchiana Library at Florence. This treatise, which is divided into twenty-five books, treats of the origin and construction of buildings, and of the selection of a favourable site for a city called Sforzinda, after Francesco Sforza, which he builds in his pages, with that mingled spirit of Paganism and Christianity characteristic of the times in which he lived.[1] In the midst of this city he places a splendid cathedral in the style of St. Mark's at Venice, 'like the ideal man, durable, beautiful, and useful,' and groups around it palaces, convents, churches and hospitals, destined to be decorated by all the great artists of his day with works of art, calculated to have a bearing upon the moral and religious education of the sovereign and his people, whom he divides into three classes, comparing the nobles to chalcedony and sardonyx, whose transparent texture shows every flaw, the middle classes to porphyry and alabaster, and the 'plebs' to marbles and inferior stones. Around the Prince's Palace he builds four churches, dedicated to SS. Francis, Dominic, Augustine, and Benedict; and near it a gymnasium where the young men pray and fast, and the women sew, spin, weave, and embroider. Written in an affected style, replete with Latinisms, and tediously prolix, Filarete's treatise contains some important notices of artists and works of art, of which Vasari, despite his hard judgment upon it, did not scruple to avail himself without acknowledgment.[2]

His ideal city.

[1] Class xiv. There is a copy of it in the Palatina, and a Latin translation dedicated to Matthias Corvinus in the Marciana at Venice.

[2] M. Rio, in *L'Art Chrétien* (vol. ii. pp. 329 *et seq.*), has given a most

Filarete's dedicatory letters to Piero de' Medici and Francesco Sforza, tell us that he designed the Great Hospital at Milan, and a part of the Cathedral at Bergamo, and made the bronze gates of St. Peter's at Rome, but they say nothing of Simone called Donatello, who is known to have been his assistant. As by the advice of his ministers, Pope Eugenius IV.[1] most unwisely entrusted the making of these gates to these two inferior artists, while Ghiberti and Donatello were still alive, it is not to be wondered at that they are unworthy of the place in which they stand, although the generally execrable sculpture in and about the church makes them appear far better than they would, were it possible to compare them on the spot with works of a better style. In the large reliefs at the top we see the Madonna and the Saviour, underneath which are SS. Peter and Paul, whose decapitation and crucifixion are represented in smaller compartments. The other reliefs commemorating events in the life of Pope Eugenius IV. have an historical interest of their own. In one, we see a representation of the great council held by the Pope at Florence to unite the Greek and Latin churches, with portraits of John Paleologus the sixth, emperor of Constantinople, and his brother Demetrius, tyrant of the Morea, who brought the head of St. Andrea to Rome in 1471; and in another the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Egyptian Abbot of San Antonio, and Pope Eugenius himself, who kneels to receive the Papal keys from the hands of St. Peter; while at the bottom of the door (inside the church), Filarete and his workmen are represented with a well-laden donkey going into the country on a frolic. Out of place as is such a subject upon the door of a church, the introduction of such mythological subjects as Leda and the Swan,

The bronze gates of St. Peter's.

poetical and charmingly written account of this Treatise. See also Morelli, p. 169, note 74; and Vasari, vol. iii. p. 291, note 1.

[1] He was elected in 1431, and soon after gave this commission. As the artists spent twelve years upon their work, the gates must have been completed about 1443.

Jupiter and Ganymede &c. &c. into the panel borders of these gates is a far more serious violation of propriety, and shows how far the spirit of Paganism had even then invaded the domain of Christian Art.

Simone Fiorentino.

The date of Filarete's birth is unknown, as is that of his death, which took place at Rome in the latter half of the fifteenth century; he was buried in the Church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. As Filarete makes no mention of his coadjutor in the introduction to his Treatise, and as his name was not engraved upon the doors of St. Peter's, we might doubt Simone's co-operation were it not otherwise established, especially as, judging from the grave-slab of Pope Martin V. at the Lateran, he was the better sculptor of the two. Everything connected with him is confused, nor is it possible to say with certainty whether Vasari in mentioning two Simons, one as a scholar of Brunelleschi, and the other as the brother of Donatello, did not carelessly make two sculptors out of one. What we do know is that there was a Simon di Nanni da Fiesole,[1] scholar of Ghiberti, and a Simon Ghini, Florentine sculptor and goldsmith, and that Donatello had no brother named Simone. The grave-slab is evidently the work of an artist bred under Donatello, as are the best sculptures in the Church of S. Francesco at Rimini, and as we know that Pandolfo Malatesta employed a Florentine sculptor named Simone, we may conclude that the same artist, whom we can designate by no other more distinctive appellation than that of Simone Fiorentino, is the author of both.[2]

The church of San Francesco at Rimini.

Among Early Renaissance buildings, none perhaps is more

[1] Who made a colossal marble group of the Madonna and Child, which stands over an altar at Or San Michele—a heavy and characterless work. This sculptor was long believed to have been the man who so nearly spoilt the block of marble out of which Michael Angelo afterwards made his David, and which long lay, an abortive giant, in the Opera del Duomo. Agostino di Guccio, pupil of Luca della Robbia, is now proved to have been the sculptor in question, and not Simon di Nanni.

[2] He made a crucifix for S. Lorenzo at Florence, a bas-relief of the

remarkable than the church dedicated to St. Francis, at Rimini, the master-piece of Leon Battista Alberti, who erected it in 1447, in fulfilment of a vow made by Pandolfo Malatesta.

Leon Battista Alberti.

Alberti was of noble birth, and had enjoyed the advantages of an excellent education; was thoroughly conversant with the writings of the great Latin authors, and both wrote and spoke their language with facility. Having studied architecture as a profession, he showed his predilection for the antique in the edifices which he built, endeavouring, especially in this church, to conform himself to the exigencies of a classical style; combining with great elegance the rich basement, the Corinthian columns, the noble arches, the broad entablature, and the massive cornice, into a whole, which constitutes perhaps the most successful imitation of the antique ever accomplished. By introducing the joint initials of Sigismund Pandolfo and his mistress Isotta degli Atti into the ornamentation of the building, by inscribing Sigismund's name upon the façade, and by placing sarcophagi in which the eminent men of the court of Rimini were buried, under the arches upon the side of the building, Alberti made it a great mausoleum to the memory of Sigismund and his friends, and much more like a Pagan temple than a Christian church. Nor is this illusion dispelled by the interior,[1] which with its heathen emblems, its deification of Sigismund and Isotta in the statues of SS. Sigismund and Michael, its medallions, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions in Latin and Greek, has so heathen an aspect, that we involuntarily look towards the altar for a train of chaplet-crowned priests and augurs, about to offer a milk-white heifer in sacrifice to the god and goddess of Rimini.

Baptism of our Lord in the Vescovado at Arezzo, and the iron lattice before the chapel of the Madonna in the Duomo at Prato. His death took place after 1468.

[1] 'Ædificavit tamen nobile templum Arimini in honorem divi Francisci, verum ita gentilibus operibus implevit, ut non tam Christianorum quam infidelium dæmones adorantium templum esse videretur' (*Pii Secundi Comm.* lib. ii. p. 92. Rome, 1584).

Isotta degli Atti. Born about 1417.

The woman who shares this homage with Sigismund, as she shared his life, was the daughter of Francesco di Atto of the noble family of the Atti; her 'liaison' with Sigismund Pandolfo commenced during the lifetime of his second wife Polixena, daughter of Francesco Sforza, whom he is said to have strangled.[1] The Neapolitan poet Porcellio, who lived at the court of Rimini, states that Isotta's father strongly condemned her conduct, and makes this the argument of three Elegiac Epistles, one of which (feignedly written by Isotta) pleads the irresistible power of love as an excuse for her fault,[2] and the other (put into her father's mouth) replies, that the love which has subdued her is a false god, and that duty demands of her to leave her lover, and conduct herself henceforth like a virtuous woman.[3] This account conflicts with Tito Strozzi's statement that Francesco di Atto, Isotta's father, was Sigismund's faithful friend and councillor, and can only be made to agree with it if we believe, that the lovers were married after the death of Polixena Sforza, and

In 1453.

that Isotta's father was then reconciled to her. Besides these two elegies, other 'Isottaei' are to be found in a rare book of poems, treating of the imaginary love of Jupiter for Isotta, which she repulses on account of her passion for Sigismund, and exalting her as more beautiful than Tyndaris, a better poetess than Sappho, and more constant than Penelope.[4]

She was really but moderately handsome, judging from medals, busts, and pictures,[5] was clever as a writer of Latin verses,

[1] That he might give himself up wholly to Isotta. He first repudiated the daughter of Carmagnola, on account of her father's infamous death; and then married Ginevra, daughter of the Marquis Niccolo di Ferrara, whom he is said to have poisoned.

[2] 'Ille meo princeps regnat sub pectore fixus,
Ante oculos absens semper et ille meos' (lib. ii. p. 52).

[3] Mazzuchelli (*Notizie intorno Isotta*) states his belief that Isotta herself wrote these two Epistles.

[4] Trium poetarum elegantissimorum, Porcelii, Businii, et Trebanii, opuscula. Parisiis, 1539.

[5] Sigismund caused six medals to be struck in her honour: two of which

learned in physics and moral philosophy, and, as far as we know, constant to one lover. Through her influence, Sigismund was led to repent of his sins [1] and to expiate by benefits and kind actions the injuries which he had formerly inflicted upon so many of his subjects; and so great was his confidence in her judgment and experience, that at his death he left her joint ruler of Rimini with his natural son Sallustio. Fearful, however, that the Romish church would seize upon her dominions on the plea of Sallustio's never having been legitimatised, she called Roberto, another illegitimate son of her husband, to a share in the government, who, being ambitious and wicked, caused Sallustio to be assassinated, and is said to have assisted by poison the progress of a slow fever, which attacked Isotta in 1470, and quickly carried her to the grave.[2]

The sculptures in San Francesco, evidently by several artists, are different in style, and unequal in excellence; of these the best we believe to be the work of Simone, called Donatello, and the worst that of Bernardo Ciuffagni.[3] On entering the church, the first chapel to the right is that of St. Sigismund, whose seated statue, resting upon elephants (the Malatesta crest), is placed over the altar. The same animals support the three-sided pilasters which sustain the arch by which the chapel is entered. Its many niches are filled with ill-proportioned statuettes, probably sculptured by Ciuffagni, in a style resembling that of some second-rate master of the early Pisan school. Upon the side walls of this same chapel are angels of life-size in very flat relief, whose flying drapery is treated with such freedom, and whose lines are so

The sculptures at S. Francesco.

were made by Matteo di Pasta. All but one are dated 1446. There is a bust of her in the Campo Santo at Pisa, by Mino da Fiesole.

[1] Clementini, *Raccolta Storica Rimini*, 1817.

[2] Gr. Rim., tom. xv. in *Rer. St. It. di Muratori.*

[3] Mentioned by Vasari (vol. iii. p. 294), as having made a marble monument at Rimini in S. Francesco, for Sigismund Malatesta, and his portrait and other works in Lucca and Mantua.

flowing that they seem rather drawn than sculptured. As these clearly belong to the school of Donatello we must ascribe them to Simone, who for the same reason may be supposed to have executed the many bas-reliefs of children dancing, singing, and playing upon musical instruments, which adorn the pilasters of two other chapels. (See Plate XXI.) They are cut in a soft stone, and, like the earliest terra-cottas of Luca della Robbia, are relieved upon a blue ground.

In one of these chapels, over whose altar stands the statue of Isotta in the guise of St. Michael, by Ciuffagni, is the sarcophagus, supported upon elephants, which contains her mortal remains.[1] The finest monument in the building is of Greek marble, elaborately decorated; it stands in the first chapel to the left, and contains the bones of Sigismund's ancestors. In its bas-reliefs, Minerva is represented surrounded by members of the house of Malatesta, and Sigismund himself appears, mounted upon a quadriga, and preceded by prisoners, whose arms are bound behind their backs.[2] It is impossible to point out the author of this work, who was certainly neither Simone nor Ciuffagni, but may possibly have been Benedetto da Majano, whose style it more nearly resembles, and who worked at Faenza in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The pilasters which support the entrance-arch to this chapel are covered with statuettes in niches, among which is one of an old woman, for which a traveller is said to have offered its weight in gold. Two admirable medallion portraits of Sigismund, probably copied from the well-known medal by Vittore Pisanello, whom Cicognara hypothetically names as author of many of the sculptures in this church,[3] decorate

[1] Vide Appendix, letter A.

[2] That Luca della Robbia could have made this sarcophagus, as asserted at p. 75 of *Il Tempio di S. Francesco*, by G. B. Costa, is impossible; not only from its utter want of resemblance to his style, but also because Robbia was at Rimini about thirty-five years before S. Francesco was built.

[3] Note at the end of vol. v. p. 554. Pisanello is only known as a medallist, though Paolo Guido mentions him in a letter to Cosimo de' Medici, A.D. 1551,

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VAS RELIEF

DI

S. FRANCESCO DI RIMINI.

the bases of these pilasters. Those of another chapel are adorned with eighteen figures in relief of agriculture, ethics, metaphysics, poetry, history, &c., mentioned by many writers as Greek works, though they are evidently imitations of the antique, and inscribed with mottoes containing hidden allusions to the Lord of Rimini.[1]

Desiderio da Settignano. N. 1428.

Among the most eminent artists of this period, was Donatello's pupil Desiderio da Settignano, whom Raphael's father styles 'Il bravo Desider si dolce e bello.'[2] He was the son of a stone-cutter at Settignano, named Bartolomeo di Francesco, 'detto Ferro,' and was born in the year 1428. Little more is known of him than that he had a brother named Gori, who, like himself, was brought up to the paternal trade, that in 1453, he was made member of the Guild of the 'Maestri di Pietra,' at Florence, and A.D. 1463. that he died when only thirty-five years old, leaving a wife and two children.[3] Young as he was, he had already gained for himself a prominent place among the sculptors of his time, and achieved a reputation which is fully borne out by the very few works from his hand which remain to us. The best example of his 'delicate, sweet and captivating manner,' is the monument of Carlo Marsuppini in the church of Sta. Croce at Florence—one of the three finest tombs in Tuscany.

Marsuppini Monument in Sta. Croce.

Carlo Marsuppini's father Gregorio, a learned Jurist, at one time Governor of Genoa, and secretary of King Charles VI. of France,

as 'skilful in bas-reliefs.' Besides this, the church was not founded till 1447, and Pisanello is generally supposed to have died in 1451, certainly before 1455. See C. Cavettoni, *Tre Carmi Latini in Lode di V. Pisanello*, p. 10; and C. Bernasconi, *Studii sulla Pittura Italiana*, p. 6.

[1] E. g. that of the Dea Suada. Eloquence means Jupiter Ariminæus, Apollo Ariminæus, Apollo adstat Suadæ (Abate L. Nardi, *Descr. Antiq. Arch. dell' Arco di Augusto, e il Tempio Malatestino a Rimini*).

[2] Cronaca Rimata di Giovanni Santi. Vide Passavant, *Life of Raphael*, French Translation, vol. i. pp. 427, 428.

[3] Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani, Arch. It., A.D. 1862. G. Milanesi, *Notizie*. Vasari's account of Desiderio is full of mistakes and chronological errors.

whose half-effaced grave-slab is set into the pavement directly below his son's monument, confided the direction of his studies to the learned Giovanni di Ravenna, and to the noble Greek Emmanuel Chrysolaras, who, in the intervals between the important embassies with which he was from time to time entrusted, gave instruction in his native tongue to the young men of Florence and other Italian cities. After his return from Parma, whither he accompanied his patron Cosmo de' Medici, Carlo Marsuppini was appointed secretary to Pope Eugenius IV., an office which he subsequently held in the government of his native city. In 1452, when the Emperor Frederic III. visited Florence, he delivered a carefully prepared Latin oration in his honour, to which the Emperor's secretary Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.) made an extemporaneous reply in the same language; but to the disappointment of his friends, and somewhat to the detriment of his reputation as a scholar, Marsuppini refused to extemporise a Latin answer, for which those who knew him best excused him on the ground of diffidence, alleging that he had already given sufficient proofs of solid scholarship in his well-known
A.D. 1455 writings. Three years later he died, and at the public obsequies by which he was honoured at Florence, his disciple Matteo Palmieri crowned his head with laurel. Desiderio has represented him dressed as a civilian, with a book upon his breast, lying upon a sarcophagus, whose base, at each end of which stand genii holding shields, is adorned with sphinxes, festoons, and various ornamental devices; the arched recess in which the monument stands is crowned by a flaming vase, with two graceful angels holding festoons which fall upon the sides of the arch. The lunette contains a group in alto relief of the Madonna and Child adored by angels. Although every part of its surface is covered with elaborate ornament, yet, owing to the exquisite delicacy with which its details are sculptured, the effect of the whole mass is extremely rich without being overloaded.

Refinement of taste was one of the most marked elements of

Desiderio's genius, as it was indeed of each one of the group of artists to whom he belongs. It is eminently conspicuous in the beautiful bust of Marietta Palla Strozzi, wife of Celio Calcagnini di Ferrara, which is preserved in the Strozzi Palace at Florence. (See Plate XXII.) It stands upon a broad band of marble, upon which two recumbent figures and little genii are sculptured in low relief with 'ottimo gusto.' The face, though not beautiful, is full of character; the 'coiffure' is rich and novel in effect, and the pattern of the brocaded dress is delicately worked out in the marble. It would be difficult to point out a bust, which more thoroughly combines those peculiar features of the best 'quattrocento' work, high technical excellence, refinement of taste, delicacy of treatment, and purity of design. A charming little statue of the child Christ in San Lorenzo,[1] and a Magdalen in Santa Trinita, which was completed by Benedetto da Majano, and is now disfigured by and concealed under a painted wooden robe, complete the scanty list of Desiderio's authentic works.

Bust of Marietta Strozzi.

He died in 1463, and was buried in the church of San Piero Maggiore, at Florence. 'Nature, indignant at being outdone by him,' sang an anonymous poet, in verses laid upon his tomb, 'cut short his days, but her vengeance proved vain, for he had given immortality to his living marbles, and they to him.'

The second and most noted scholar of Donatello was Andrea Cione di Michele, called Verocchio, but we find in his works so little trace of that master's influence, that we should doubt his having been such, were the fact not well authenticated.[2] Born at

Andrea Verocchio. N. 1432.

[1] The Pietà relief in S. Lorenzo seems hardly worthy of Desiderio, though it is attributed to him, nor can he have sculptured the bust of Beatrice d'Este in the Louvre, a lovely work of the time, as he died in 1463, and she was born in 1474. The South Kensington Museum contains a marble tabernacle, a marble Virgin and Child, a terra-cotta ditto, and an Amorino in terra-cotta, attributed to Desiderio. See J. C. Robinson's *Illustrated Catalogue*, pp. 28, 29. The Musée Napoleon III. contains a bas-relief of the Madonna holding the child Christ on her knees, catalogued as by this sculptor.

[2] MS. in the Strozzi library, cited by Baldinucci, vol. i. p. 536.

Florence in 1432, he was early apprenticed to Giuliano Verocchio, a goldsmith, from whom he took the name of Verocchio, which he has been generally said to have acquired on account of his wonderful correctness of eye. We can form no idea of his skill in this art, which gained him a place beside Ghiberti and Maso Finiguerra, since his altars and reliquaries adorned with metal work, his chased cope-buttons, his vases covered with animals and foliage in relief, and his cups ornamented with groups of dancing children, have all disappeared. Gone too are the silver statuettes of the twelve Apostles[1], which he made for Pope Sixtus IV.; and of all the precious objects of this class, in the fashioning of which he spent many years of his life, none are left to us but the two silver bas-reliefs made for the altar of the Baptistry at Florence. As little can we judge of Verocchio the painter from his one picture of the baptism of our Lord in the Accademia at Florence, which is so hard in line, dry in style, and wanting in expression, that we are inclined to give credence to the story, related by Vasari, that hurt by being outdone by his boy-pupil Lionardo da Vinci, who painted the golden-haired angel in its left-hand corner, he determined to give up painting and thenceforth devote himself to sculpture.[2]

Verocchio as a goldsmith.

A.D. 1477.

Verocchio as a painter.

In pursuance of this resolution he began to model a group representing the Incredulity of St. Thomas, and cast a bronze ball to surmount the cupola of the Duomo, and worked upon the monument of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici (sons of the great Cosmo) for the sacristy of San Lorenzo, which consists of a porphyry sarcophagus decorated with bronze ornaments, placed beneath an arch, whose recess is filled in with a net-work of admirably cast bronze cordage.[3] About this time he went to

Verocchio as a sculptor at Florence. A.D. 1466—1471.

[1] 1471–1484. They were stolen from the Pontifical Chapel about the middle of the last century (Vasari, vol. v. p. 141, note 1).

[2] Vasari, vol. v. p. 146.

[3] Finished in 1472. The bodies of Lorenzo and Giuliano, who ordered it, were removed to it in 1559.

Rome to make the already mentioned statuettes in silver of the twelve Apostles, and while there was also employed upon a monument to Selvaggia di Marco degli Alessandri, wife of Francesco Tornabuoni,[1] a Florentine merchant. For some unknown reason it was removed from the church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva and destroyed, with the exception of one bas-relief representing the death of Selvaggia, who died in child-bed, which eventually found its way to Florence, where it has been placed in the corridor of Tuscan sculpture at the Uffizi. Around the couch upon which the dying woman sits, supported by her attendants, stand her relatives and friends, one of whom tears her hair in an agony of grief, while another, in striking contrast, crouches in silent despair upon the ground, her head enveloped in the folds of a thick mantle. (See Plate XXIII.) The depth of expression attained by Verocchio in the representation of this sad scene is marred by a hardness of style, an angularity of movement, an exaggeration of sentiment, and an abrupt treatment of draperies, which disturb the eye by their broken-up effect.

At Rome A.D. 1473 —1476.

Immediately after his return to Florence Verocchio modelled and cast the bronze statue of David, now in the Uffizi, which, though deficient in sentiment, is full of life and animation. The face is very like those of Lionardo in type, the head is covered with clustering curls, and a light corslet protects the body. The left hand, which is very carefully studied, rests upon the hip, while the right grasps a sword, with which the young hero is about to cut off the head of his fallen enemy. Meagre in outline, and poor in its forms, it is nevertheless a work of much merit, and were it not placed so near Donatello's David, would produce a still more pleasing effect. Among the gems of Florence we may class the bronze boy holding a struggling dolphin in his

His return to Florence A.D. 1476, and subsequent works.

[1] This Francesco Tornabuoni, who was made ambassador to Venice in 1420, is not to be confounded with another person of the same name, who died at Rome in 1513 (Litta, *Articolo Tornabuoni*, vol. ii. tav. 102).

arms, made by Verocchio for Lorenzo de' Medici, to decorate a fountain at the Villa Careggi; it now stands upon a fountain in the cortile of the Palazzo Vecchio, where, like a sunbeam which has found its way into those gloomy precincts, it brightens them by its presence.

Verocchio's crucifixes and ex voto's.

Besides these more important works, he sculptured many crucifixes that were highly esteemed and eagerly sought after; and also modelled many wax figures, which, robed in the costume of the day, were placed in churches as 'ex voto's.'[1] In this branch of art he deserves especial mention, for although working with perishable materials, he spared neither time nor care in his efforts to harmonise them with the cultivated taste of the day, which demanded high finish; in this conscientious practice he instructed his friend Orsino, a worker in wax of great celebrity. He also introduced the fashion of making casts in plaster, of hands, feet, and other natural objects for purposes of study; in which he was imitated by many, who thus cast heads of the dead at a small expense, and to such an extent, that they were to be seen 'over the chimney-pieces, doors, windows, and cornices of every house in Florence.'[2]

Bartolomeo Coleoni. M. A.D. 1476.

The last work upon which we know Verocchio to have been engaged was the equestrian statue of the celebrated Condottiere Bartolomeo Coleoni, captain-general of the Venetian forces, who died at Bergamo, leaving his silver, furniture, arms, horses, and the sum of 216,000 gold florins to the republic of Venice, on condition that his equestrian statue should be set up in the square

[1] The soubriquet of Fallimagini, or 'Del Cerajuolo,' borne by the Benintendi family in token of their profession, proves that such images had been made in Florence before Verocchio's day (Del Migliore, *Firenze Illust.*, Bibliotheca Magliabecchiana, MS.). These figures resembled those which the Romans, who had obtained the 'jus imaginum,' were accustomed to place in the 'atria' of their houses.

[2] 'Andrea fu de' primi, ma non il primo, giacchè l'uso di formare i volti dei cadaveri pare che fosse più antico.' Vasari, vol. v. p. 152, note 2. See Appendix, letter B.

MARCO ALBERTO

of St. Mark.[1] This condition caused no little embarrassment to the Signory, as an old law forbade that the Piazza should be in any way encumbered, but it was suggested that the square of the School of St. Mark, which adjoins the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, would as a site sufficiently fulfil the letter if not the intent of the testament.[2]

The great man who was to be thus honoured was born at Solza, in the district of Bergamo. His father, an eminent Guelph, having been driven out of Bergamo by Galeazzo Visconti, lord of Milan, took refuge with his family in the Rocca di Frezzo, a castle on the banks of the river Adda, where he and his eldest son Antonio were murdered by four of his poor and exiled kinsmen, to whom he had given hospitality; while his wife Riccardona, and his second son Bartolomeo, were detained as prisoners, and succeeded in escaping, only to be seized by Benzone, tyrant of Cremona, who imprisoned them for Antonio's debts which they were unable to pay.[3] When Bartolomeo was at last set free, he became the page of Filippo d'Arcello, tyrant of Piacenza, and at the age of twenty commenced his military education under the famous Perugian Captain, Braccio di Montone, and completed it under Jacopo Caldara, Carmagnola, and Francesco Gonzaga. His wisdom in council and boldness in action enabled him to defeat the famous Condottiere Piccinino in a series of strategic operations, and gained him the reputation of rendering invincible those whom he led to battle, in consequence of which he was appointed leader of 800 horse by the Venetian Senate, and made commander of Brescia after the death of Gattamelata. Taken prisoner by Filippo Maria Visconti, and confined at Monza, he effected his escape to Landriano, where his soldiers received him with the wildest joy, and served with him in the Milanese army, under Lodovico Sforza, until he was recalled to Venice on

A.D. 1400.

A.D. 1446.

A.D. 1449.

[1] Sanuto's *Diary*, vol. xxii. p. 1203; Muratori, *It. Rer.*

[2] Selvatico, *op. cit.* pp. 214, 215; Cicogna, *Iscriz. Venet*, vol. ii. p. 298.

[3] Spina, *Vita di Bart. Coleoni.*

A.D. 1468 —1476. the conclusion of peace. The last eighteen years of his life were spent at Bergamo, and in his Castles of Malpaga, Romano, and Martinengo, guarded by six hundred veterans who had grown grey in his service, and surrounded by a company of 'savans' and artists in whose society he delighted. The latest biographer[1] of this model Condottiere, who is not surpassed by Cornazzaro or Spina in admiration for his hero, shows him to have been a pattern of every Christian and knightly virtue, truthful and disinterested, and though passionate and impetuous, ever ready to forgive his enemies and to recognise their good qualities. He proves his piety by enumerating the chapels, churches and convents which he built; and by telling us how he 'transformed Romano into an Escurial, where he divided his time between pious and military exercises, in the midst of his double troop of warriors and monks, his young and old guard, which represented to him his memories and his hopes.'

A.D. 1479. In order to make the statue Verocchio came to Venice, and had just modelled the horse, when a report reached him that the Signory intended to have the rider executed by Donatello's scholar, Vellano of Padua. Indignant at this intended insult, he instantly broke the head and legs of the horse in pieces, and returned to Florence, whither he was followed by a decree forbidding him under pain of death again to set foot upon Venetian territory; to which he replied that he never would incur that risk, as he was aware that if his head were once cut off, the Signory could neither put it on again nor supply its place, while he could at any time replace the head of his horse by a better one. Feeling the truth of this answer, the Venetians rescinded their unjust edict, and not only invited Verocchio to resume his work, but doubled his pay and pledged themselves not to allow him to be in any way interfered with. Pacified by this 'amende honorable,' he returned to Venice, and had begun to restore his broken model,

[1] M. Rio, *Art Chrétien*, vol. ii.

when he was attacked by a violent illness which speedily carried him to his grave. How much, or rather how little, of his task was then completed, is clearly shown in the passage of his Will[1] in which he supplicates the Signory to allow his scholar, Lorenzo di Credi, to finish the horse which he had commenced. His request was not complied with, and Alessandro Leopardi, a Venetian sculptor, was appointed to complete the group,[2] but as he doubtless used Verocchio's sketches, the general conception must be ascribed to the latter; though, as we look upon this rich and picturesque group, whose ample forms are so opposed to the meagreness of the Tuscan sculptor's manner, we are led to conclude that Leopardi worked out Verocchio's idea according to his own taste, and honour him as the chief author of this, the finest modern equestrian statue, as did the Venetians, by giving him the surname 'del Cavallo.'[3] M. A.D. 1488.

The stalwart figure of Coleoni, clad in armour, with a helmet upon his head, is the most perfect embodiment of the idea which history gives us of an Italian Condottiere. As his horse, with arched neck and slightly bent head, paces slowly forward, he, sitting straight in his saddle, turns to look over his left shoulder, Equestrian statue of Coleoni.

[1] 'Etiam relinquo opus equi per me principiati' (Gaye, vol. i. p. 369). This will was lately discovered in the Riccardiana library at Florence.

[2] Leopardi was recalled from banishment (to which he had been condemned for forgery) in 1490. 'Ut tali modo possit perficere *equum* et *statuam* Ill. Bart. de Collionibus, jam cum multa laude cœptam' (Cicogna, *op. cit.*; Reumont, *op. cit.* vol. vi. p. 367, note 38).

[3] Would the Signory have talked of appointing Vellano di Padova to make the figure of Coleoni, had Verocchio already modelled it? and would he only have spoken in his Will of the horse as 'commenced' had it been completed? Would Alessandro Leopardi have been allowed to engrave his name upon the work without reference to Verocchio, or been ever after styled Alessandro del Cavallo, had he not been generally acknowledged as its author? This 'vexata quæstio' is important to settle as far as possible, as Leopardi is usually, and it seems to us unjustly, spoken of as the humble partner of Verocchio's glory, whereas we, for the above reasons, think he deserves the lion's share. Cav. P. Zandomenighi, in a discourse pronounced before the Accademia del Belle Arti at Venice (p. 17), says that the original registers of

showing us a sternly-marked countenance, with deep-set eyes, whose steady intensity of expression reveals a character of iron which never recoiled before any obstacle. It, indeed, admirably embodies the graphic picture of Coleoni's personal appearance, given by Bartolomeo Spina in these words: 'Saldo passo, vista superba, risplendente per le ricche armi e pennacchi sopra nobil corsiere—occhi neri—nella guardatura ed accutezza del lume, vivi, penetranti e terribili.'[1] The stern simplicity of the rider is happily set off by the richness of detail lavished upon the saddle, the breast-plate, the crupper, and the knotted mane of his steed; and the effect of the whole group is heightened by the very elegant pedestal upon which Leopardi placed it.

A.D. 1484. Between the intervals of Verocchio's first and second visit to Venice, he finished the bronze group representing the Incredulity A.D. 1466. of St. Thomas, which he had begun nearly twenty years before, for a niche on the outside of Or San Michele.[2] It consists of the Incredulity of St. Thomas. two figures of our Lord and St. Thomas, who to satisfy his doubting spirit, leans forward to thrust his hand into the wound in his Master's side. The faces of both are expressive, the composition of the group is good though somewhat too pyramidal,

the Council of Ten, of Luca Paciolo and M. Sanuto, 'per quest' opera non nominano e non lodano che il nostro Alessandro.' Vide *Iscrizioni Veneti, Fasc.* p. 299, 1858. Sansavino (*Venezia Descritta*, p. 61) says Verocchio made the group. Temanza (*Vite de' Pitt.* etc. p. 110) says that the description upon the surcingle, under the horse's belly, 'A. Leopardi F.' proves that Leopardi cast it after Verocchio's design: F. meaning *fudit* and not *fecit*. The inscription upon Leopardi's tomb in Santa Maria dell' Orto speaks of him as the maker of the pedestal. Sanuto says that the statue was originally gilded (Cicogna, *Iscriz. Ven.* vol. ii. p. 299).

[1] Spina, *op. cit.* lib. vi. p. 243.

[2] In 1466 Verocchio received this commission. Jan. 15, 1467, he received 300 lire in advance. March 26, 1481, the magistrates set aside 40 gold florins and 200 lire for its completion. In April 1484, when it was nearly completed, the whole sum which he was to receive (viz. 400 florins) was agreed upon; and it was decided that the group should be set in its place on the Feast of St. John (*Beiträge zur It. Geschichte*, von A. von Reumont, vol. vi. pp. 348 *et seq.*).

but the draperies are heavy and tasteless, and their folds so angular in line that they have suggested the idea that Verocchio was in the habit of pressing out the folds of his draperies in wet cotton—a process which effectually precluded all happy flow of line and all chance of accidental grace.[1]

It was probably during this last visit to Florence that he furnished a design for the monument of Cardinal Forteguerra, which was afterwards erected in the Duomo at Pistoja; but taking into consideration that the persons who commissioned this work are said to have preferred that offered by Piero del Pollajuolo, a preference which must have roused Verocchio's jealous susceptibilities, and also the short time that he stayed in Florence, between his arrival from and his return to Venice, as well as the inferiority of the work, we are inclined to doubt whether he had anything to do with it.[2] In the multiplicity of his talents, and in his habits of work, there is, as has been justly remarked, much resemblance between Andrea Verocchio and his great pupil Lionardo da Vinci.[3] Like him, Verocchio was goldsmith, master of perspective, sculptor, intagliatore, painter, and musician. Both were enthusiastic admirers of antique art; and Verocchio, who (as Vasari tells us) spent much of his time in making drawings of antique statues, like him excelled in restoring them, as we see by the Marsyas of red marble in the Uffizi. Proof of such study is not, however, so manifest in Verocchio's works as in those of Donatello and Ghiberti, nor did he in any way rival them or Lionardo in taste. He was a diligent, pains-taking, and conscientious artist, who would have left behind him many more excellent works, had he

Verocchio and his scholar L. da Vinci.

[1] Rumohr, *It. Forsch.* vol. ii. p. 303.

[2] The figure of Hope, and the relief of God the Father, are, however, pointed out as by Verocchio; the rest was executed by Lorenzo Lotti and Guido Mazzoni, perhaps after Pollajuolo's design. The South Kensington Museum claims to possess the original model in terra-cotta.

[3] By M. Rio, *Art Chrétien.*

not resembled Lionardo in his inclination to begin a new, before he had finished an old work. No comparison can, however, be instituted between the dry unimaginative manner and limited talents of the master, and the divine style and boundless genius of the pupil, which was limited only by the finite capacities of man.

Lionardo da Vinci. B. 1432.

To Lionardo poetry, painting, sculpture, engraving, architecture, astronomy, music, in short all arts and sciences, were equally natural; he appeared in each 'to the manner born,' and as if each had been the exclusive study of his life. In but one of these many manifestations of his genius, that of sculpture, for which he was eminently fitted by his plastic tendencies, by his extreme love of finish, his delicacy of handling, his masterly but unexaggerated boldness as a draughtsman, and the high qualities of his imagination, are we here called upon to speak of him, and in doing so we can but quote the praises of his contemporaries, as nothing remains to us by which to judge. Lomazzo describes a terra-cotta head of the infant Christ, which had come into his possession, as combining 'the simplicity and purity of a child, with a vague something, denoting wisdom, intellect, and majesty; the bearing of a tender infant with the dignity of an old man.'[1]

Lionardo as a sculptor.

With a boldness of self-assertion, pardonable in so great a man, Lionardo writes to Duke Lodovico Sforza: 'I can do anything possible to man; and as well as any living artist, either in sculpture or painting.'[2] Looked upon coldly at Florence, where Michael Angelo reigned supreme, he gladly left it for Milan in 1483, and found in Lodovico Sforza such a patron and friend as his rival possessed in Lorenzo de' Medici. Like all who came in contact with him, the duke and his court were captivated 'by

Lionardo at Milan.

[1] *Trattato dell' Arch. Scul. e Pitt.*, vol. i. lib. i. ch. xx. p. 115. 'L. da Vinci, che è stato eccellente ed unico in plasticare' (*Ibid.* lib. ii. ch. viii. p. 213.

[2] Bottari, *Lett. Pitt.* vol. i. p. 469. The MS. letter which is in the Ambrosiana was probably written in 1483.

the charm of his conversation, which exercised an irresistible power over all minds. There was in his look, and the expression of his noble countenance, a sort of mute eloquence which prejudiced all hearts in his favour, and when he took in his hand his silver lyre, to which he had added hitherto unknown improvements, their enthusiasm knew no bounds.' Professors of music, and masters of arms were in turn obliged to acknowledge his incontestable superiority, and all were overcome with wonder 'when they saw that the hand which swept like a magic breeze over the cords of a lyre, and traced the most graceful and delicate lines upon the canvas, was able to bend a horse-shoe, or control at his will the most fiery steed.' [1]

Immediately after his arrival at Milan, he was made Director of the Ducal Academy of Fine Arts, member of the committee of architects which directed the building of the Duomo, and was commissioned to make an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, the illustrious founder of his patron's house. Upon this work, for which he made an infinite quantity of designs, and two perfect models, the first in a classical, the second in a modern and more picturesque style, Lionardo spent fourteen years. The first of these models is probably that represented in the frontispiece to a little MS. volume preserved in the Imperial library at Paris, entitled 'Gesti di Francesco Sforza,' which was written by the Cremonese Bartolomeo Gambagnola in the very year of its completion.[2] It represents the hero armed from head to foot, holding in his right hand a bâton which rests upon his saddle bow, and seated upon a heavy but carefully studied horse. One can well understand that such a design did not satisfy Lionardo, whose genius demanded one of a more original and vigorous type. Accordingly, in the year 1490, as he himself tells

Equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza.

[1] Rio, *Art Chrétien*, vol. ii.

[2] Ancien Fonds, petit in folio. No. 9941. An account of this MS., by M. Ch. Clement, may be found in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1860.

us in a note written on the cover of his treatise upon Chiaroscuro, he again recommenced his labours, and modelled a group representing a fighting warrior, under the body of whose fiery horse lay a struggling soldier. In the fourteen sketches which he made for it before finally deciding upon one which satisfied him, he drew the warrior and his horse in various attitudes—both with and without the fallen soldier—and made careful studies of the horse's body, divided as if for casting in bronze.[1]

Being simultaneously occupied in painting the fresco of the Last Supper, and always given to procrastination, he put off the casting of his work until it was too late, for when Lodovico Sforza
A D. 1499. was overthrown and Milan fell into his hands, Louis XII., filled with hatred of Francesco Sforza, and unable out of admiration for a great work of art, to rise above personal feelings, gave the model for a target to his soldiers, who totally destroyed it. By this wanton act of revenge the world was deprived of a work of art, which, judging from the great admiration that it excited at Milan, and from our knowledge of Lionardo's genius, and of his profound studies in human and equine anatomy, must have been the finest equestrian statue ever modelled.

M. 1519. Disheartened by the destruction of his master-piece, Da Vinci devoted the rest of his life to painting and science, but the memory of what he had accomplished in sculpture remained,

[1] The volume containing these sketches is preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor. It is entitled *Disegni di L. da Vinci restaurati da Pompeo Leoni.* Mr. Smith, English consul at Venice, purchased it for King George III. This precious volume, which probably came into the hands of Pompeo Leoni after the death of Guido Mazzenta, contains 236 leaves mounted on blue paper. Mazzenta was a Milanese engineer, who possessed thirteen volumes of Lionardo's MSS., given him by Orazio Melzi, in 1590. Melzi afterwards took back ten of these volumes, which he gave to King Philip of Spain; the other three came into the hands of Pompeo. At p. 160 of the *Cabinet de l'Amateur*, for 1861, M. Piot has published Mazzenta's own account of these MSS., from the original MS. which belongs to M. Ambrose Firmin Didôt.

to make his name in that, as in all other arts, the synonyme of perfection—

> Lionardus Vincius - quid plura ?
> Vince costui pur solo
> Tutti altri, e vince Fidia, e vince Apelle,
> E tutti il lor vittorioso stuolo.

Rustici, N. 1470.

After Andrea Verocchio left Florence for Venice, his scholar, Giovanni Francesco Rustici, lived with Lionardo da Vinci, and closely imitated his type of head and style of drapery. Though of a noble Florentine family, and rich enough to live in idleness, Rustici devoted himself with such zeal and untiring application to sculpture, that he greatly interested Lionardo, who aided him by his counsels when he was modelling a bronze group for the north door of the Baptistry, and so greatly influenced its style that he has been said to have himself modelled it.[1] It represents St. John earnestly setting forth some doctrinal point, which a Levite stands ready to dispute; while a Pharisee, with one hand upon his beard, appears to be turning over the matter in his mind. The heads are thoughtful, the style is noble and broad, and the draperies are well disposed. With the habitual carelessness of a man who worked for fame rather than for money, Rustici made this group for the Merchants' Guild without any stipulation as to price, and when it was finished demanded 2,000 scudi for it, which, to his surprise and mortification, were refused by Ridolfi who managed the affairs of the Guild. Ridolfi selected Baccio d'Agnolo, then a comparatively unknown wood-carver, as arbitrator, and requested Michael Angelo to fill that post for Rustici. These appointments were both unfortunate for our sculptor, who on the one hand felt himself insulted by having a man of Baccio's rank for his judge; while on the other, he knew that his position as the friend of Da Vinci was not likely to gain him favour in the eyes of Michael Angelo.

Bronze group over the door of the Baptistry.

A.D. 1511.

[1] Amoretti; *Vita di Lionardo.*

And so, between the positive enemy and the cool advocate, poor Rustici fared badly, and although he had sold a farm rather than trouble his employers for money while the work was in progress, was finally obliged to agree to accept the fourth part of his estimate, and actually received only 400 scudi of this greatly-reduced sum. Displeased at this treatment, he vowed never more to accept any public commissions, and for a time gave up sculpture, and devoted himself to natural history, painting, and necromancy.[1] Much of his time was passed with his artist friends at two clubs, called La Cazzuola and Del Pajuolo. At the latter, which held its meetings at his house, each of the twelve members was obliged to provide some novel and artistically arranged dish for supper, a fine being imposed upon any two who hit upon the same device.[2]

After several years passed in such trivial occupations and amusements, upon which he frittered away the greater part of his property, Rustici went to France to make an equestrian statue of Francis I., who promised him 500 scudi a year, and a palace for his residence. But hardly had he settled himself to work, and entered upon the enjoyment of these emoluments, when the
A.D. 1547. king dying, he lost his annuity, and would have been homeless as well as penniless, had it not been for the kindness of his countryman Piero Strozzi, who lodged him in an abbey belonging to
His death A.D 1550. his brother Cardinal Lorenzo Strozzi, and cared for him until his death.

The last scholar of Verocchio whom we have to mention is
Francesco di Simone. Francesco di Simone, a Florentine sculptor, who made a very ornate monument to Alessandro Tartagni in the church of St. Do-
M. 1488. menico at Bologna, which resembles the Marsuppini monument in

[1] According to Baldinucci (vol. vi. pp. 40 *et seq.*), Rustici made a Virgin and Child with St. John in relief for the Magistrato dell' Arte di Porsantamaria, and a praying Christ, in terra-cotta, for the Church of the Nuns of Santa Lucia, which was afterwards glazed by Girolamo della Robbia.

[2] See Appendix, letter C.

Santa Croce in its general arrangement, and is much admired for the delicacy and beauty of its arabesques, intaglios, and foliage. A monument to one of the Fieschi in the Certosa at Bologna is also pointed out as the work of this sculptor, who is supposed to have been a member of that Ferucci family which gave to Florence many artists, and one great soldier.[1]

CHRONOLOGY.

MICHELOZZO DI BARTOLOMEO DI GHERARDO MICHELOZZI—	A.D.
Born	1396
Builds the Medici (Ora Riccardi) palace at Florence, and assists Donatello in sculpturing the monuments of Pope John XXIII., Cardinal Brancacci, and Bartolomeo Aragazzi	1427—1433
Builds the convent and library of S. Giorgio Maggiore; sculptures a crucifix for that church at Venice; and decorates the Palazzo Vismara at Milan	1433—1434
Restores the Palazzo Vecchio; builds the Villas Careggi, Caffagiuolo, and Mozzi; makes a silver statuette of St. John for the altar in the Opera del Duomo, and a statuette of St. John for the door of the Canonica at Florence	1435—1478
Dies in	1478

ANTONIO AVERULINO DETTO FILARETE—	
Date of birth unknown.	
Models and casts the bronze gates of St. Peter's, assisted by Simone Fiorentino, between	1431—1443
Designs the Great Hospital at Milan, and a part of the Duomo at Bergamo.	
Dies at Rome, about	1450

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[1] Francesco Ferrucci 1529 and 1530. For other sculptors of this family vide Chapter VIII.

SIMONE FIORENTINO, called DONATELLO— A.D.

Assists Filarete in making the bronze gates of St. Peter's . . . . . 1431—1443

Casts the grave slab of Pope Martin IV. for the Lateran Basilica . . . . . 1432—1433

Sculptures many reliefs in the Church of S. Francesco at Rimini, after 1447

Makes a crucifix for S. Lorenzo at Florence, a bas-relief for the Vescovado at Arezzo, and a lattice for the Chapel of the Madonna in the Duomo at Prato.

Dies after 1468

BERNARDO CIUFFAGNI—

Various sculptures in the Church of S. Francesco at Rimini, after 1447

Dates of birth and death unknown.

DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO (Scholar of Donatello)—

Born 1428

Sculptures tomb of Carlo Marsuppini at Santa Croce, after 1455

Bust of Marietta Strozzi in the Palazzo Strozzi at Florence, a Christ Child in S. Lorenzo, and a Magdalen at Santa Trinita . . . .

Dies 1463

ANDREA VEROCCHIO (Scholar of Donatello)—

Born 1432

Bronze group of the Incredulity of St. Thomas, begun in 1466

Finished in 1484

Monument of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici in S. Lorenzo . . . . . 1471—1472

Silver statuettes of the Twelve Apostles, and tomb of Selvaggia Tornabuoni . . . 1473—1476

Bronze Boy and Dolphin in courtyard of Palazzo Vecchio.

Goes to Venice to make the equestrian statue of Bartolomeo Coleoni 1479

At Florence for several years; returns to Venice and dies 1488

LIONARDO DA VINCI—

Born 1432

Goes to Milan in 1483

Models two equestrian statues of Duke Francesco Sforza: the second commenced in 1490, destroyed in . . 1499

Dies in France 1519

	A.D.
GIOVANNI FRANCESCO RUSTICI—	
Born	1470
Completes the bronze group of St. John, a Levite, and a Pharisee, for the Baptistry at Florence	1511
Goes to France, after	1545
Dies	1550
FRANCESCO DI SIMONE (FERRUCCI)—	
Dates of birth and death unknown.	
Sculptures the monument of Alessandro Tartagni in S. Domenico at Bologna	1488

ANGELS. (By Desiderio.)

CHAPTER VII.

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA AND HIS SCHOOL; THE ROSSELLINI; MINO DA FIESOLE AND CIVITALE.

Luca della Robbia.

ALTHOUGH Luca della Robbia was not an artist of so high an order as his contemporaries Ghiberti and Donatello, his name is perhaps even more widely known than theirs, through the art with which it is identified.

N. A.D. 1400.

This eminent artist was born at Florence, in the house of his father Simone,[1] by whom he was apprenticed at a very early age to Lionardo di Ser Giovanni, the best goldsmith in the city.[2]

Educated as a goldsmith.

This course of study gave to him, as to so many other illustrious artists of the time, a mastery over detail, and a capacity for high finish, which would seem unattainable by any other means. To him, as to them, it was but a stepping-stone to sculpture, upon the study of which he soon entered with an ardour which made him forget cold and hunger, and turn night into day while working out his youthful fancies in wax, or giving them enduring shape in marble or bronze. And yet, strange to say, the only memorials of the first forty-five years of his life are the bas-reliefs,[3] which

[1] Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. pp. 182—186, Denunzia de' Beni. Simone della Robbia lived in the Via San Egidio.

[2] Who made the splendid silver altar in the Duomo at Pistoja, between 1355 and 1371. It seems questionable whether Lionardo could have lived long enough to have instructed Luca della Robbia (*Les Della Robbia*, par H. B. De Jouy, p. 5, note 2).

[3] Grammar, Philosophy, Music, Astronomy, and Geometry; Plato and Aristotle; a man playing the lute; Ptolemy and Euclid.

Luca della Robbia sc

are set into the side of Giotto's campanile, towards the Duomo, and two unfinished reliefs of the imprisonment and crucifixion of St. Peter[1] in the Uffizi.[2]

Opposite to the latter is that beautiful series of alto-reliefs which Luca began for the balustrade of one of the organs in the Duomo, when he was aged forty-five, and which entitle him to rank as one of the most charming of Italian sculptors.[3] They represent a band of youths dancing, playing upon musical instruments, and singing; the expression in each chorister's face is so true to the nature of his voice, that we can hear the shrill treble, the rich contralto, the luscious tenor, and the sonorous bass of their quartette, and as we listen to their 'ditties of no tone' feel with the poet, while looking upon such another 'marble braid of men and maidens,' that 'heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter.' (See Plate XXV.) The skilful grouping of these figures, and the variety of graceful attitudes into which they are thrown, prevents a subject in itself without variety, from being monotonous. Luca's highly finished works gain as much by their present position, which permits close examination, allowing us to dwell upon every form and detail, as Donatello's bas-reliefs above them of the same subject, sculptured in a bold sketchy style adapted to the distance at which they were

Alto-reliefs in the Uffizi.

[1] Commenced in 1438, for an altar intended to be placed in the Chapel of St. Peter in the Duomo at Florence. See Rumohr, *It. Forsch.* vol. ii. pp. 290 and 363.

[2] Vasari says he went to Rimini, when fifteen years old, to work in the Church of S. Francesco, and that he made the mausoleum which contains the bones of the Malatestas, and one of the figures in the niches of the Chapel Pilasters. This cannot be, as the church was not commenced till 1447, nor could Luca have worked there after it was built, as he had then given up sculpture in marble, and was too busily employed in making Robbia ware to have left Florence. We have already, in a preceding chapter, described the sculptures of this church, and stated by whom we believe them to have been sculptured.

[3] Vasari (vol. iii. p. 61, note 3) says 1445; Labarte (*La Renaissance des Arts*, p. 1009) says 1432–1438.

intended to be seen, lose by their present undue proximity to the eye, in the narrow corridor of the Uffizi.

It is said that Luca della Robbia studied for some time with Ghiberti,[1] but this seems hardly credible, as we do not find in any of his works that tendency to the pictorial, either in the use of perspective, landscape background, or deceptive artifice, characteristic of Ghiberti, nor any attempt at classic elegance; the forms are rounded, the faces studied from nature, and chosen without reference to beauty of type, in which respect, although his mode of treatment is utterly dissimilar, Luca della Robbia rather resembles Donatello than Ghiberti. If he did study with Ghiberti, it was probably to learn the art of bronze-casting, before making the bronze doors of the sacristy of the Duomo, which, though originally assigned to him in company with Michelozzo and Maso di Bartolomeo, ultimately fell entirely into his hands, on account of the absence of the one and the death of the other.[2] The ten panels of these doors contain figures of the Madonna and Child, St. John the Baptist, the four Evangelists, and the four Doctors of the Church, each attended by two angels, whose attitude and expression are so little varied, that though each is pleasing, the general effect is somewhat monotonous; and if compared with Ghiberti's reliefs, in which the bronze looks as if it had been moulded like clay, they will be seen to want sharpness and clearness of line.

Bronze doors in the Duomo at Florence. A.D. 1445.

Among the many beautiful cinque-cento tombs in Tuscany, that by Luca della Robbia of the Fiesolan Bishop Benozzo Federighi, in the church of San Francesco e Paolo, below the hill of Bello-Sguardo, holds a high place.[3] The admirably truthful figure of the dead bishop clad in his episcopal robes, is laid upon a sarcophagus within a square recess, whose architrave and sideposts are decorated with enamelled tiles,[4] painted with flowers and fruits

Tomb of Bishop Federighi. A.D. 1456.

[1] Baldinucci, vol. i. p. 452.

[2] Finished in 1464.

[3] Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 183. This monument was ordered in 1451.

[4] The result of Luca's endeavour, mentioned by Vasari, to paint objects on flat surfaces of terra-cotta, 'which, being executed in vitrified enamels, would

coloured after nature. At the back of this recess, filling up the space above the sarcophagus, are three half figures of Christ, the Madonna, and St. John; all the faces are expressive, and that of the Saviour is especially fine, and full of mournful dignity. Around the top of the sarcophagus runs a rich cornice, below which are sculptured two flying angels, bearing between them a garland, containing an inscription setting forth the name and titles of the deceased.

First essays in Robbia ware. A.D. 1446.

The painted tiles about this tomb show that Luca had already begun to make use of pottery in combination with sculpture for decorative purposes. Ten years earlier he had made his first works in Robbia ware, after long study and repeated experiment directed towards the discovery of some method of covering clay with an opaque, hard, stanniferous enamel, which would not crack, and in which he could multiply his works much more rapidly and far more remuneratively than in marble or bronze. That he invented this process, as asserted by Vasari, is certainly a mistake, inasmuch as enamelled pottery was not only known to the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Greeks, but also to the Italians in the middle ages.[1] Twenty years before Luca perfected his system, Bicci di Lorenzo modelled and glazed a terra-cotta group of the coronation of the Madonna which still fills the lunette over the door of the hospital of San Egidio at

The process was not invented by him.

secure them an endless duration.' The twelve medallions, painted in chiaroscuro, with impersonations of the twelve months, now in the Kensington Museum, are supposed to have formed part of the decorations of a writing-cabinet, made by Luca for Piero di Cosimo de' Medici. Vide *Illustrated Catalogue*, pp. 59–63.

[1] Vitruvius (lib. ii. ch. viii.) mentions the use of enamelled bricks upon the Palace of Mausolus at Halicarnassus. That the mediæval Italians were acquainted with this art is proved by its mention in the *Div. Art. Sched.* of the monk Theophilus, and in the *Maravita Preciosa* treatise, written in 1330 by Pietro del Bono, a Lombard, as well as by the use of enamelled plates in façades and friezes by early mediæval architects. See M. Piot's, *Cabinet de l'Amateur*, for 1861, pp. 1 *et seq.*

Florence,[1] and at that time the ceramic artists of Spain and Majorca (who had learned their art from the Arabs) manufactured glazed vessels of all descriptions, and tiles, then much used in Italy for church pavements.

The glaze used by Bicci was, like that of the ancients, colourless, and merely served to protect the terra-cotta surface from injury, while that employed at Pesaro in the thirteenth century was opaque and coloured.[2] The most probable theory about Luca's process is,[3] that the sight of the Spanish and Majorcan pottery, and perhaps an acquaintance with some foreign workmen employed in its manufacture at Florence, suggested to him the idea of applying their system to art purposes, and that he composed a glaze suitable for his purpose after much study, but without passing through such sufferings and privations as Palissy the potter, who spent his last penny, and fed the furnace of his hopes with the fragments of his broken furniture, before he attained success.

Enamel first used by Luca.

The enamel first used by Luca upon figures was pure white, and that upon his backgrounds and accessories blue and green; but as he and his nephew Andrea considered that their works, if more highly coloured, might advantageously replace fresco-painting in damp places, they afterwards multiplied the number of colours, and carried them into the flesh and draperies of their figures, with a disregard of proper sculptural feeling, which little by little degraded the originally pure marble-like surface to the level of wax-work.

Unsparing use of colour.

A.D. 1446.

The first bas-reliefs in Robbia ware were those of the Resurrection and Ascension, for the lunettes of the doors leading into the sacristy of the Duomo; that of the Resurrection is probably the earlier, as it has no colour, except in the background,

[1] Attributed by Vasari to Dello Delli, but proved by recently discovered documents to be the work of Bicci (G. Milanesi, *Arch. St. It.* vol. xii. p. 183, note 1, Dispensa 33a, A.D. 1860). For an account of Dello Delli, see Appendix, letter A.

[2] Marryatt, *History of Pottery and Porcelain*, ch. ii. p. 15. Second edition.

[3] Labarte, *Renaissance des Arts*, p. 1011.

while in the Ascension, the plants about the foreground are coloured green. It would be superfluous to insist upon such trifling differences were they not important as indications by which the period of any given Robbian work can be guessed at; a matter of no small difficulty, for while in genuine sculpture it is generally easy for a practised eye to recognise by slight peculiarities of style, not only the maker, but even the period of his life to which any given work belongs, this is almost impossible in enamelled terra-cottas, from their surface being covered with a glaze, which veils the work, and hides such indicative characteristics.[1] One can do nothing more than broadly assign the simplest in colour and feeling to the earliest period of the school, when Luca and Andrea worked together, and those in which colour is unsparingly used to the latest; without, however, being able to distinguish certainly between the works of Andrea and his four sons, Giovanni, Luca, Ambrogio, and Girolamo. We cannot here attempt to catalogue the works which these artists made for all parts of Italy, France, and Spain, so great is their number, but must content ourselves with pointing out a few of the most remarkable.[2]

Andrea, born 1437, died 1528.

One of the most beautiful among those apparently by Luca, is the altar-piece in the church of the Osservanza, near Siena, which represents the Coronation of the Virgin. She sits above, surrounded by cherubims and angels with instruments of music in their hands, and below are represented Saints John, Francis, Bernardino, and Catherine of Siena, with a kneeling donatrix, while on the gradino are three lovely bas-reliefs, representing the Annunciation, the Birth of our Lord, and the Assumption of the Virgin. The figures are white upon a blue ground, and gilding is sparingly, and most tastefully used in the drapery of the angels, and in the pattern of the Virgin's robe. The Madonna is loveliness itself, the heads are generally pleasing and in some instances

Coronation of the Virgin.

[1] Labarte, *op. cit.* p. 1113.

[2] See Appendix, letter B.

beautiful, and the bas-relief of the Nativity is as simple in composition and as full of sentiment as a Frà Angelico.

Divers works attributable to Luca.

Equally genuine are a bas-relief over the door of the church of San Pierino in the Via de' Ferravecchi at Florence; the ceiling of a chapel at San Miniato; some of the medallions on the outside of Or San Michele; a Virgin and Child in the Uffizi; an Annunciation in the cloister of the Innocenti Hospital; a Madonna with two saints, over a church door in the Via della Scala; an Incoronation of the Virgin over the door of the Ognissanti church; an Adoring Madonna, formerly at Pisa (see Plate XXVI.); and a charming fountain in the sacristy of Sta. Maria Novella.[1]

In 1471 Luca made a Will[2] by which he devised his property to his nephews, Andrea, and Simone who was by trade a shoemaker; in it he speaks of himself as old and infirm, though he was still alive ten years later, as we know by Andrea's declaration of property.

Death of Luca about 1481.

The members of his family who survived him, and inherited from him the secret which was the groundwork of his and their fortunes, found after his death a new field for its use in the system of Polychromatic Architecture which they organised. The medallions made by Luca for the façade of Or San Michele, and by Andrea for that of the Innocenti Hospital at Florence, and for the tympani of the arches of the Loggia di San Paolo, were intermediate steps to a more extended use of this decorative system in the frieze of the Ceppo Hospital at Pistoja. It represents the Seven Acts of Mercy, and cost Andrea and his son Luca II. eleven years of labour. They spent upon it all the resources of their art, and by an unsparing use of colour produced a brilliant, if not a perfectly tasteful effect. When closely examined, the compositions show careful observation of common nature; as,

A.D. 1503–1514.

[1] M. Barbet de Jouy gives a long list of Robbian works at the end of his volume (*Les Della Robbia*). See also the Commentary appended to Vasari's *Life of Luca*, vol. iii. pp. 76 *et seq.*, and Appendix to this Chapter, letter B.

[2] Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 185.

ADORING MADONNA.

for example, in that representing the Visitation of the Sick—the artist evidently studied the effects of illness upon some of the sufferers who lay in the hospital which he was employed to decorate, and then reproduced in his work what he had seen, without attempting to idealise.

Luca II. was afterwards employed at Rome by Pope Leo X. to pave the Vatican Loggie with coloured tiles. His brother Giovanni made a highly coloured altar-piece for the convent church of San Girolamo at Fiesole,[1] and the monk Ambrogio, Andrea's third son, one for the convent of St. Spirito at Siena. None of the brothers did so much towards applying Robbia ware to architectural purposes as Girolamo, his fourth son, who was architect, sculptor, and painter, and had already obtained notice for his works in marble and bronze, when he was taken to France by some Florentine merchants, and there found ample employment during the remaining forty years of his life under four kings of the house of Valois.[2] On his arrival he was employed by Francis I. to build the Château de Madrid[3] in the Bois de Boulogne, and decorated its exterior with reliefs in enamelled 'fayence,' and its great hall with reliefs in Robbia ware, of which the subjects were selected from the Metamorphoses of Ovid. On the 25th of April, 1650, says Evelyn,[4] 'I went out of town to see Madrid, a place so called, built by Francis I. It is observable only for its open manner of architecture, being made of terraces and galleries

Luca II.

In 1521.

In 1504.

Circa 1527.

The Château de Madrid.

[1] An altar-piece in the Louvre (Coll. Sauvageot) is probably by Giovanni (Marryatt, *op. cit.* ch. ii. pp. 16, 19).

[2] His name is mentioned in the royal accounts up to 1565. He died in France about 1567.

[3] This name, which still clings to the site and is generally supposed to have been given on account of its resemblance to the king's prison in Spain, was more probably suggested by the use of coloured tiles in its decorations, which was common upon Spanish buildings; such tiles were called 'azulejos' in Spain. Any resemblance between the château in the Bois de Boulogne, whose style was Italian Renaissance, and such a Moresque Gothic castle as that in which Francis I. was confined in Spain, is impossible.

[4] Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. i. p. 256. Colburn's edition.

one over the other, to the very roof; and for the materials, which are mostly of earth, painted like porcelain or China ware, whose colours appear very fresh, but is very fragile. There are whole statues and rilievos of this pattern, chimney-pieces and columns both within and without.' The effect of this structure, with its arcades, large windows, and brilliant decorations must have been truly fairy-like, and in striking contrast with other royal châteaux, whose sombre walls, pierced here and there with narrow windows, made King Francis regard them as so many prisons. Left without repairs for 150 years, the Château de Madrid had fallen into so ruinous a condition at the end of the last century, that Louis XVI. determined to pull it down; but the royal edict was never carried into effect, and the building remained standing until the Terrorists of the Revolution levelled it with the ground, and sold the broken fragments of its beautiful terra-cotta ornaments to the paviers of Paris, who used them to mend the roads.[1]

Agostino di Gucci.

Although the Robbias guarded their precious secret with jealous care, glazed terra-cotta figures of inferior quality were made in Tuscany by individuals out of the family, even in the lifetime of Luca and Andrea. One of these was that Agostino di Duccio, or Gucci, who failed in his attempt to make a colossal statue out of the block of marble which Michel Angelo afterwards used for his David,[2] and who is identical with the Agostino di Florentia who made the bas-reliefs from the life of San Gimignano, let into an outer wall of the cathedral at Modena; and the beautiful façade of the church of San Bernardino at Perugia, which with its terra-cottas and parti-coloured marbles, forms one of the most charming examples of Polychromatic Architecture in Italy.

Façade of S. Bernardino.

[1] For documents relating to this château, see Labarte (*La Renaissance des Arts*, pp. 1025 *et seq.*); and for ground plan and elevation, T. A. de Cerceau (*Les plus Excellents Bâtiments de France.* Paris, 1607). Vide Appendix, letter C.

[2] Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 454, and p. 465, note.

An infinite variety of reliefs, arabesques, and ornaments cover its architraves, flat spaces, and the side posts of its doors; above rises an arch, the principal architectural feature of the façade, in the lunette of which San Bernardino appears in a glory of flaming tongues, attended by angels playing upon musical instruments. Among the figures in relief upon the pilasters of this arch, is a group of two angels, one of whom is playing upon a lute, and a lovely figure of Chastity with a lily branch in her hand, whose draperies, arranged in subtle and delicate folds, fall with consummate grace. (See Plate XXVII.) The reliefs over the door, representing scenes from the life of San Bernardino, are notably realistic in style, and eminently naive in sentiment. (See Plate XXVIII.) In treatment they are quite unlike Luca della Robbia, whose surfaces are always rounded, whereas these are flat like Donatello, resembling also his style in careful rendering of nature, irrespective of beauty; while in plastic power, and facility of invention, they surpass any of the terra-cotta works of Luca della Robbia or his scholars.

That Agostino was highly esteemed at Florence, we know by a letter from the Signory to the Legate of Perugia,[1] and his great influence upon the development of the ceramic art in that district is proved by his having founded at the small castle of Deruta a workshop for the manufacture of pottery which eventually attained great celebrity.[2] Other workers in Robbia ware were Baglioni, who made the Madonna and Angels, in a chapel of the Badia at Florence, and a now destroyed altar for the Duomo at Perugia; Pietro Paolo Agabiti da Sassoferrato, sculptor and painter, who made the ancona of an altar at Arceria,[3] in the Sinigaglian district, which is still

Various workers in Robbia ware. A.D. 1487.

[1] Gaye, vol. i. p. 196, dated Sept. 1461.

[2] F. Lazzari, *Notizie della Raccolta Correr.* p. 59.

[3] Dated 1513. 'Pregevole lavoro che non invidia le opere di Luca della Robbia' (Ricci, *Mem. St. delli Artisti dalla Marca d' Ancona*, pp. 156, 158, Doc. v. p. 158).

preserved in the Capuchin convent of that town; Agostino and Polidoro, who made the Porta di St. Pietro at Perugia;[1] and Giorgio Andreoli, from Gubbio, one of whose altar reliefs is preserved in the 'Staedelsche Institut' at Frankfort am Main.[2]

After existing nearly a century, the school of Luca della Robbia died out, and although various attempts have been made to discover the glaze which he used, none have been thoroughly successful. Nor is this to be regretted, unless we could find another Luca to use it. The purity of the white surface relieved against a background of deep blue harmonised perfectly with his lovely Madonnas and Angels, but less well with the less pure creations of his scholars, who used colour as a cloak to hide the want of qualities which alone could bear so severe a test.

Families of Artists.

The practice of art by divers individuals of one family, as in that of the Robbia, was by no means uncommon in Italy; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we find the Campionesi, the Pisani, the Roman Cosimati, and the Orcagnas; and in the fifteenth century the Robbias, the Majano's, the Rossellini and the Pollajuolos at Florence, the Civitales at Lucca, and the Turini at Siena, each of which numbered several artists among its members. One of these, the Rossellini (whose real name was Gambarelli), gave five sculptors to Tuscany, viz. Bernardo, Domenico, Maso, Giovanni and Antonio, sons of Matteo di Domenico Gambarelli, two of whom, Bernardo and Antonio, were artists of great ability.[3] Bernardo the elder attained especial eminence as an architect in the service of Nicholas V. It was through his agency that this great Pope, who restored the falling edifices of Ancient Rome, built palaces at Orvieto and

The Rossellini.

Bernardo, b. 1409, d. 1470.

[1] Ricci, vol. ii. p. 530. This gate was reduced to its present lamentable state in the seventeenth century.

[2] Dated 1515. Robinson (*Illustrated Catalogue*, p. 53) says it is by Andrea della Robbia.

[3] See Bernardo's *Denunzia de' Beni*; Gaye, vol. i. p. 189.

S. BERNARDINO AND THE SHEPHERD

Spoleto, and princely baths at Viterbo, carried out his most important architectural schemes, and projected others he did not live to realise, such as making the Vatican and its dependencies into a city separated from the rest of Rome, in which, as in a great monastery, the servants of the Church from the highest to the lowest, could lead 'holy, celestial, and angelic lives;' and the reconstruction of the Basilica of St. Peter, for which he caused Rossellino and Alberti to design a vast tribune.[1] After the death of this Pope and of his successor Calixtus III., Rossellino found an equally zealous patron in Pius II. (the celebrated Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini) whose chief aim was the embellishment of his birth place, Cosignano, to which he gave the name of Pienza.

In this little town, which stands on the summit of one of a series of bare volcanic hills in the Sienese district, Rossellino built a palace, a cathedral, a canonica, and a municipal palace in the Renaissance style, of which Pope Pius gives an elaborate description in his well-known commentaries.[2] The estimated cost of the palace and church was eight or ten thousand ducats, but as generally happens in such cases, that sum had been immensely exceeded long before their completion. When his Holiness was notified of this, he sent for his architect, and instead of upbraiding him, said: 'You have done well, my Bernardo, in exceeding your estimates, for if you had told me the truth I should have refused to spend so large a sum, and this noble palace and temple, which all Italy now admires, would never have been built. Thus through your want of candour these fine buildings exist, Pienza.

[1] Rosellino rebuilt the Church of S. Francesco at Fabriano, which had fallen into ruin, the Church of S. Benedetto at Gualdo, and a bridge over the river Giano (Ricci, vol. ii. pp. 533, 534).

[2] *Pii Secundi Comm.* pp. 425–433, in 4to, Rome, 1584. Some persons have supposed that the Bernardo Fiorentino, mentioned by the pope as his architect, was not Rossellino, but a certain Bernardo di Lorenzo, who worked at Rome for Pope Paul II. (Rumohr, vol. ii. pp. 180, 181; Vasari, vol. vi. p. 207, and p. 223, note 1.)

which all but a few envious persons praise. We thank you heartily, and consider you worthy of honour above all architects of the century, in testimony of which we shall order that one hundred ducats be given to you, and a new scarlet doublet.'

A.D. 1469. Rossellino also built for this Pope the Piccolomini Palace at Siena, and the Loggia del Papa;[1] and is said to have been the architect of the Nerucci and Spanocchi Palaces in the same city.

Though thus constantly employed, he found time to sculpture several monuments, among them that of Lionardo Bruni in Sta. Croce, which is one of the finest in Tuscany. In its architectural features it resembles others of the time; the angels holding a scroll, the eagles, the pall, are admirably sculptured, and the recumbent figure is finely conceived.[2] The monument to the Beata Villana, a Florentine saint of the fourteenth century, at Sta. Maria Novella, is original in design, but by no means equal to the former in point of workmanship. The saint lies under a tent-like drapery, the folds of which are held back by angels, and in the centre are seen two hands holding a crown which radiates light. The tomb of Filippo Lazzari in San Domenico at Pistoja, stands too high up against the wall for close examination. The professor is represented instructing his scholars, in a bas-relief upon the sarcophagus, above which hangs a curtain, sustained by a little winged angel.

Two of Rossellino's best works are a charming bust of the young St. John in the Uffizi Gallery, peculiarly delicate in treatment, and full of the best qualities of quattro cento

[1] Promis ascribes it to Francesco di Giorgio; see his edition of that architect's *Trattato di Architettura.*

[2] The Madonna and Angels in the Lunette are said to be by Andrea Verocchio. Lionardo Bruni, born at Arezzo 1369, died at Florence 1444, was a learned jurist, an excellent Greek scholar, and an able exponent of the Aristotelian philosophy, who held the office of apostolic secretary to four popes, and at the time of his death was chancellor of the Florentine Republic. See the account of Bartolomeo Aragazzi's monument in the *Life of Donatello,* chap. v.

sculpture, and an excellent portrait bust of Battista Sforza in the same room.

Antonio Rossellino, b. A.D. 1427.

Bernardo's brother Antonio, who was called Antonio del Proconsolo, from the quarter of Florence in which he was born, was one of the best sculptors of the fifteenth century, and is said to have studied in his early years under Donatello, although his works are much more in the style of Ghiberti. He possessed grace, delicacy of treatment, dignity, and a rare feeling for beauty, and sweetness of expression, as we see in the noble monument to the Cardinal Portogallo at San Miniato near Florence. At the head and foot of the sarcophagus, upon which lies the marble figure of the young cardinal, are mourning genii, and upon either end of the highly ornamented entablature two kneeling angels, holding in their hands the crown of virginity and the palm of victory. Heavy, looped curtains (the only faulty feature in this exquisite monument), fall from the top of the arch above it on either side of a roundel, in which is a most lovely Madonna and Child in alto relief.

Tomb of Cardinal Portogallo.

Cardinal James, of the royal house of Portugal, who lies here, having lived from his earliest years with peculiar sanctity, as befitted one who intended to become a priest, was sent to Perugia at the age of nineteen to study canon law. Although only twenty-six at the time of his death, he had received a cardinal's hat from Pope Calixtus III., and been appointed ambassador from the Florentine republic to the court of Spain. 'He was of a most amiable nature, a pattern of humility, and an abundant fountain of good, through God, to the poor, discreet in providing for his servants, modest in ordering his household, an enemy of pomp and superfluity, keeping that middle way in everything which is the way of the blessed. He lived in the flesh, as if he was free from it, rather the life of an angel than a man, and his death was holy as his life had been.'[1] He requested in his Will to be

[1] Vespasiano Bisticci, *Vite di Uomini Illustri del Secolo XV*, pp. 152–157.

buried in a chapel which he had built, where masses could be daily for the repose of his soul.

The Duke of Amalfi was so delighted with this monument, that he ordered Rossellino to make one like it for the church of Monte Oliveto at Naples, in memory of his wife, Mary of Aragon.

After 1466. Tomb of Mary of Aragon.

The sculptor enriched this repetition with an admirable bas-relief of the Resurrection; Christ, accompanied by angels, rises from a tomb in front of which lie two guards, one of whom, just awakened, gazes with awe at the wondrous spectacle. The figures are very small, their surfaces very flat, and their lines worked out with admirable precision and delicate sharpness.

Over an adjoining altar is a bas-relief of the Nativity, also by Rossellino, famed for a group of angels who, closely linked together, dance and sing upon a bank of clouds above the lowly shed, beneath which the infant Redeemer is adored by a lovely Madonna. Outside of it are seen two shepherds, one pointing upwards, while the other shades his face with his hand, that he may better see the guiding star. Cherub heads upon the cornice, four 'putti' with festoons upon the architrave, and statuettes of SS. John and Luke in niches, with two half figures of Evangelists in roundels above them, complete this admirable work, which uniting beauty of expression and simplicity of feeling with high technical perfection, may be regarded as one of the most charming productions of the best period of Tuscan Art.

Adoring Madonna.

We find the same qualities in a circular relief at the Uffizi, representing the Madonna kneeling with clasped hands and bent head in adoration of the infant Jesus, who lies before her upon the curved marble frame of the relief, which is adorned with a series of lovely cherub-heads. (See Plate XXIX.) At her right hand, in the middle distance (which is indicated by the flatter relief, as well as by the smaller dimensions of his figure), sits St. Joseph, behind whom rises a mountainous country, and in the sky appears the angel announcing good tidings to the shepherds,

PL.XXIX.

Antonio Rosellino. sc

ADORING MADONNA.

one of whom is still tending his flock, while two others are descending a rocky path between the hills. This marble picture shows that Antonio was a close student of Ghiberti. The gradual flattening of its relief, its landscape background, its sky, and the progressively lesser size of the distant figures are all pictorial artifices borrowed from the reliefs of the Baptistry gates; what Ghiberti there did in bronze, Rossellino here accomplished in marble on a larger scale, but the skill in composition of the two men cannot be compared, and Rossellino never attained the classic elegance of his prototype.

Among his minor works we have yet to mention à Madonna and Child in a mandorla, surrounded by a frame sculptured with cherub heads, in the church of Sta. Croce at Florence, which he made in memory of Francesco Neri who was killed in the Duomo by Bandini, one of the Pazzi conspirators, with the dagger which had just before found its way to the heart of Giuliano di Medici;[1] and three delicately sculptured bas-reliefs for the pulpit of the Duomo at Prato, representing scenes from the life of St. Stephen, and the Assumption of the Virgin; also, a truthful-looking bust of Matteo Palmieri,[2] and a pleasing statue of the young St. John, both of which are in the Tuscan corridor of the Uffizi. Antonio Rossellino died about 1490.

In 1473.

In 1468.

Another famous sculptor of this period was Mino di Giovanni, called da Fiesole, though born at Poppi, a small town in the Casentino, the intimate friend of Desiderio da Settignano, but not his scholar as is stated by Vasari, for they were almost of the same age. The attempt to arrange Mino's works in strict

Mino. B. 1432, D. 1484.

[1] Leo X., remembering that Neri had thus saved his father (for whom the fatal blow was intended), granted an indulgence to all who should pray for his soul. (Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, p. 144, 501, note 2. Bohn's edition.)

[2] There is a marble bust in the South Kensington Museum, of Giovanni di San Miniato, Doctor of Arts and Medicine, by Antonio Rossellino, signed and dated A.D. 1456.

chronological order is quite hopeless, as it is not known when many were sculptured, and there is little or no difference of manner between them to guide conjecture. For instance, one of his most marked and most highly finished productions, the tomb of Bishop Salutati in the Duomo at Fiesole,[1] is the first of which we know the date, and as it was commissioned during the lifetime of that prelate, when Mino was more than thirty years old, we may suppose that some of his undated works preceded it. The especial feature of this tomb, viz. the bust of its occupant, (see Plate XXX.), is certainly one of the most living and strongly characterised 'counterfeit presentments' of nature ever produced in marble. Any one who has looked at those piercing eyes, strongly marked features, and that mouth with its combined bitterness and sweetness of expression, knows that the Bishop was a man of nervous temperament, a dry logical reasoner, who though sometimes sharp in his words, was always kindly in his deeds. From the top of his jewelled mitre to the rich robe upon his shoulders this bust is finished like a Gem. It stands below a sarcophagus resting upon ornate consoles, upon an architrave supported by pilasters and adorned with arabesques. In design this tomb is perfectly novel, and so far as we know has never been repeated, despite its beauty and fitness. Directly opposite is the lovely altar-piece, which Mino sculptured by Salutati's order, and at his expense. It is divided into three compartments, containing a central group of the kneeling Madonna with the Infant Christ and St. John, on either side of which are statuettes of San Lorenzo and San Remigius, under an entablature upon which is placed a poor bust of our Lord. The Infant Saviour sitting upon the steps at the Madonna's feet holds a globe upon his knee, and smilingly stretches out his left hand to the little St. John, who kneels before him in artless simplicity.

Tomb of Bishop Salutati.

A.D. 1462

Salutati Altar.

[1] Ordered in 1462. This bishop, who died in 1466, was learned in sacred and profane jurisprudence, beloved by Pope Eugenius IV., and made Bishop of Fiesole by Nicholas V., A.D. 1450.

BISHOP SALUTATI.

Upon these children, whose grace and unconsciousness remind us of those of Raphael, the kneeling Virgin looks down with a gentle smile, her hands crossed upon her breast. (See Plate XXXVII.) Without being beautiful, or deep in sentiment, her countenance is fresh and delicate, and of that smiling type always reproduced by Mino in his Madonnas.

Altar at S. Ambrogio.

To the same period of his career belongs an important altar-piece at Sant' Ambrogio, which commemorates the following miracle. 'On the festa of San Firenze, A.D. 1230, an old priest named Uguccione, who belonged to the Convent of Sant' Ambrogio at Florence, after saying mass and consecrating the body of Christ, neglected to clean the sacred vessel, and found on the next day that the miracle of transubstantiation had taken place, and that the chalice contained living blood compressed and incarnate. This being manifest to all the nuns of the said monastery, as well as to many neighbours, the Bishop of Florence, and the clergy, was noised abroad, and attracted crowds of devout citizens to see it; after which the blood was removed from the chalice to an "ampulla" of crystal, which has been ever since shown to the multitude with great veneration.'[1] This ampulla is kept behind a little door of gilded bronze which occupies the centre of the altar-piece, on either side of which are statuettes of saints, and above, over the richly adorned entablature, a God the Father with angels. A delicately sculptured bas-relief on the gradino, of the child Jesus rising from a chalice supported by angels, tells the story of the miracle literally and typically.

Tombs by Mino in the Badia.

Two of Mino's most important works are in the church of the Badia at Florence, one of which is the monument to its founder, the famous Count or Marquis Ugo, who governed Tuscany as Viceroy of the Emperor Otho II. during the latter part of the tenth century. Count Ugo, who had lived a worldly life, while hunting one day in a dense forest, lost his way, and after wandering for a

[1] Giovanni Villani, lib. vi. ch. viii.

long time, came suddenly upon a forge, in the fierce fire of which he beheld black men tormented, and beaten out like bars of iron. Eagerly demanding the meaning of this strange spectacle, he was told that these miserable creatures were damned, as he would be, unless he repented of his sins; after which the vision vanished, and Count Ugo returning to Florence sold his patrimony, and with the proceeds built the seven Abbeys of the Badia, Arezzo, Buonsolazzo, Poggibonsi, Verrucchia di Pisa, Castello, and Settimo, and spent the remainder of his days in the exercise of all the Christian virtues.[1] As he died at Pistoja on St. Thomas's day, A.D. 1006, an oration in his honour was appointed to be delivered at the Badia on the annual recurrence of that festival, in allusion to which time-honoured custom, Cacciaguida speaks in the 'Paradiso'—

> Del gran Barone, il cui nome, e 'l cui pregio
> La festa di Tommaso riconforta.[2]

The architectural features of Count Ugo's monument are, like those of the finest Tuscan tombs, an arched recess, within which is placed the recumbent statue upon a sarcophagus. A charming Madonna and Child in relief in the lunette, below which is a figure of Charity somewhat too long in its proportions, flying angels with a memorial tablet, two genii bearing shields, and an architrave sculptured with festoons and shells in low relief, compose its sculptural features. The other monument by Mino in this church, that of Bernardo Giugni, is similar in general arrangement, but somewhat less ornate; a figure of Justice, in relief, meagre in outline though refined in conception and workmanship, stands in the place of the Charity. The best testimony to the virtues of its occupant, who served Florence as ambassador on several important occasions, and was

[1] Malespina, *Hist. di Firenze*, pp. 37, 38. The vision is related in the *Ist. Fior.* of Scip. Ammirato, vol. i. pp. 32, 33.

[2] *Paradiso*, canto xvi. This monument is said to have been finished in 1487.

Mino da Fiesole sc.

FROM THE ALTAR PIECE

IN

THE DOMO AT FIESOLE.

made Cavaliere and Gonfaloniere is contained in these words of his biographer:[1] 'Beato alla città di Firenze, se avesse avuto simili cittadini.' There is also a marble altar-piece by Mino in this church, upon which the Madonna and Child are represented with SS. Lorenzo and Lionardo.

Mino at Rome.

The termination in 1473 of the pulpit at Prato, for which Mino made two very mediocre bas-reliefs from the life of St. John the Baptist, gives us a date by which we may fix his journey to Rome where he resided for several years, and where he executed many commissions. Of these the most important was that given him by Cardinal Barbo for a monument to his uncle Pope Paul II. (Pietro Barbo), scion of a noble Venetian house, who was so vain of his personal beauty, that he wished to ascend the papal throne under the name of Formosus.[2] This satisfaction was denied him, but he is said to have found some consolation in showing his handsome person to the greatest advantage in church ceremonies, and in spending fabulous sums upon his mitre, which blazed with sapphires, diamonds, emeralds, and rubies. Unlike his great predecessor Pius II., he neither appreciated nor favoured Art or Literature, and not only broke up the Academic meetings held by men of letters at the house of Pomponius Lætus on the Quirinal, under pretence that they were seditious conferences, but tortured some of the principal members, in the vain hope of eliciting some confirmation of his suspicions. Refusing to join the Italian League until the danger of weakening his only safe-guard was forced upon him, he spent the early part of his reign in fomenting discord between the Italian princes, and abandoned the troublesome but glorious enterprise of repelling Mussulman aggression, upon which Pius II. was about to embark at the time of his death. Mino's monument to Pope Paul II.

[1] Bisticci, *Arch. St. It.* vol. iv. Giugni was born in 1396, and died in 1466.

[2] Reigned from 1464 to 1471 (Sismondi, vol. v. ch. xi. and xiii.; Platina, p. 454; Gregorius, pp. 160–163; Torrigio, *Sacre Grotte Vaticane*, part ii. pp. 385, 386).

which stood in St. Peter's, was pulled down when the old Basilica was destroyed, and though again set up in the middle of the sixteenth century, was subsequently taken to pieces, and the few fragments which had escaped destruction were placed in the crypt of the church.[1] It consisted of a recumbent effigy of the Pope, upon a sarcophagus which rested upon a double base, the upper one being divided into five compartments containing reliefs of Faith, Charity, and Hope, the creation of Eve, and the Temptation. Above, rose an arch supported by columns, outside of which were statuettes of the Evangelists, in niches. A bas-relief of the Last Judgment, and one of the Resurrection filled its Lunette and the flat space below it. Winged boys with medallions and garlands were sculptured upon its lower basement, and its plain surfaces were everywhere adorned with arabesques. The fragments which still exist at St. Peter's are the mannered bas-relief of the Last Judgment, in which Pope Paul II. and the Emperor Frederic III. are pointed out to the Redeemer's notice by St. John the Baptist; the creation of Eve, and the Temptation, in a sadly mutilated state; and the bas-reliefs of Faith, a somewhat mannered and awkward figure, and of Charity, holding a lovely child in her arms, both of which are polished, and most carefully finished.

Of the many works at Rome ascribed to this sculptor which show how great was his influence upon Art during the ten or twelve years of his residence there, the only well-authenticated one is a Tabernacle at Sta. Maria in Trastevere.[2] In its centre is a little bronze door surrounded by angels, which closes the receptacle for the Olea Sancta; above it sits Christ holding his cross in one hand and extending the other over a chalice, out of which rises a flame typical of the grace which He sheds upon it. It is enframed by an arch, adorned with cherub heads, and supported by two pilasters with Corinthian capitals, upon whose flat spaces

[1] For an engraving of this monument, see Ciacconius, vol. ii. p. 1091.

[2] Inscribed 'Opus Mini.' Engraved at Plate 3 of Tosi's *Mon. Sep.*

are vases bearing lilies. Two niches containing statuettes, an architrave sculptured with cherub's heads and festoons, and a gable, in the tympanum of which the Holy Spirit appears in the likeness of a Dove, complete this elaborate work, which we have thus minutely described because Mino repeated it with slight variations for the sacristy of Sta. Croce at Florence,[1] the baptistry at Volterra, and the church of San Marco at Rome. On his way back to Florence Mino must have spent some time at Perugia in making the altar-piece of the Baglioni Chapel for the church of S. Pietro di Cassinense, which in general design resembles the Tabernacle at Sta. Maria in Trastevere.[2]

In the year 1486, having over fatigued himself by trying to move some heavy marbles without sufficient assistance, he fell ill and died. He is said to have been buried at Fiesole, but where we do not know.

Mino's death, A.D. 1486.

With all the winning grace and charm of his works, and their extreme refinement and delicacy of treatment, they have a sameness of type, which, however pleasing at first, becomes eventually wearisome. This is always the case with works whose style is

[1] The Santa Croce tabernacle was made for the nuns of the Convent delle Muratte. The angels which formerly stood on each side of the Volterra tabernacle are now in the Duomo, near the high altar. The monument of Francesco Tornabuoni, and the small statues of SS. Sebastian and John, in the Church of S. Maria upon Minerva, the monument of Bishop Jacob Piccolomini in the Cloister of S. Agostino, and four bas-reliefs in the Tribune of Santa Maria Maggiore said to have formed part of an altar made for Cardinal Destovilla, with the Riario monument in the SS. Apostoli, the Savelli in the Ara Cœli, the Borgia altar in the sacristy of S. Maria del Popolo, the Pereira altar in S. Lorenzo, and some single figures in the sacristy of S. John Lateran, may properly be classed as the works of some of Mino's imitators.

[2] Mino often coloured the pupils of the eyes in his busts and bas-reliefs, as we see in the Salutati tomb and altar-piece at Fiesole, and gilded the hair and robe borders of his statuettes, as we see in those of SS. John and Jerome in this altar-piece at Perugia. Busts of Piero de' Medici (Il Gottoso) and of Rinaldo della Luna, a Madonna and Child, and four profile heads in relief (one of which is a portrait of Federigo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino), by Mino, are to be seen in the Uffizi. His bust of Isotta da Rimini is in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

peculiar, without being deep. We can listen for ever to the nightingale, but we soon tire of those songsters who, like Mino, have but one note which they endlessly repeat.

Matteo Civitali b. 1435. d. 1501

Of such monotony of expression no one can accuse Mino's contemporary Matteo Civitali di Giovanni, as his works are strikingly varied in style, and always pleasing. Born at Lucca in 1435, he was early sent to study at Florence, whence he returned to enrich his native town with many charming works, one of the earliest of which is the statue of St. Sebastian,[1] in the Duomo, whose pure dry style, resembling that of the Umbrian school, so delighted Pietro Perugino that he repeated the figure in his picture of the Entombment. During this early period of Civitali's life, he made a bas-relief for the refectory of San Ponziano, various statues for villas in the neighbourhood of the town, and the marble balustrade of the presbytery of the Duomo, which was adorned with many little figures of angels, festoons of fruits, flowers, leaves, and arabesques.[2] Although this work no longer exists, this church contains many other important marbles by our sculptor which give a high idea of his capacity.

Early works.

Tomb of Pietro da Noceto. d. 1470.

The most important is the tomb of Pietro da Noceto, secretary to Pope Nicholas V., whose sobriety, elegance of proportion, and admirable alternation of plain surface and ornament cause it to rank high among cinque-cento monuments. In general arrangement it resembles those already described by Desiderio and Rossellino, which Civitali had doubtless studied at Florence. The arched recess, the Madonna and Child in the lunette, the genii, and the sarcophagus with the recumbent statue, are all familiar features, to which are added profile heads of

[1] The date 1484 upon this statue is that of the erection of the Volto Santo temple, upon which it has been placed, and not that of the making of the statue, which must have been soon after 1450.

[2] Of this tribune, which was begun about 1450, Civitali made the marble work, and Leonardo Masti the wood work. Michele Ridolfi: vide Marchesi, *Scritti Varii*, vol. ii. p. 330.

ADORING ANGEL.

Noceto's son and daughter-in-law, admirably sculptured in flat relief.[1]

In 1484 Niccolò da Noceto, son of Pietro, commissioned Civitali to make the altar of St. Regulus; its lower portion is divided into three niches, containing statues of SS. Regulus, John, and Sebastian; above lies the effigy of the sainted bishop upon a sarcophagus, at each end of which stand genii bearing candelabra. The lofty structure which rises tier above tier to the vaulted roof is crowned by a niche containing a group of the Madonna and Child. Its gradino is adorned with reliefs, fantastic and exaggerated in style, representing the decapitation of St. Regulus and the feast of Herod, and with realistic portraits of the donator and his wife in very flat relief.

Altar of St. Regulus. A.D. 1484.

The marble tabernacle in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, and the light and graceful angels (see Plate XXXII.) which kneel in an ecstasy of devotion before it, were made for Count Bertini, a noble Lucchese, whose monument, also by Civitali, stands at the entrance to this chapel. It consists of the Count's bust in a roundel, and a mural tablet, upon which is inscribed 'Brevi in sarcophago naviter tumulandus abibo.'

About 1490 he went to Genoa,[2] where he was long employed in decorating the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Duomo with six life-size statues of Zacharias and his wife Elisabeth, Isaiah, Habakkuk, Adam, and Eve, and with five bas-reliefs in the same extravagant style as those on the altar of St. Regulus at Lucca. The finest among the statues, is that of Zacharias (see Tail-piece), a noble figure, clad in the official robes of a Jewish high priest, standing with arms raised to heaven as if 'executing the priest's office before God in the order of his course.' The Elisabeth is remarkable for its fine drapery and grandiose

Chapel of St. John.

[1] The absurd story that Civitali was a barber for the first forty years of his life is fully disproved by this master-work, which was made before he was forty years old.

[2] Marchesi (*Scritti Varii*) says in 1491 or 1492.

style; the Habakkuk is a striking figure; but the Adam wants dignity, and the Eve is coarse and without expression.[1]

Bas-relief of Faith.

In the Uffizi gallery at Florence there is a most expressive and beautifully draped seated figure of Faith, by Civitali (see Plate XXXIII.), which embodies his best qualities—viz., earnestness, and religious feeling. When we see how trustfully she gazes towards heaven, we feel as when looking at the angels at Lucca and the Zacharias at Genoa, that the artist who sculptured them must have been a devout Christian, who himself knew how to pray. We would insist upon this quality in his works, because it is peculiar to them among those of his century. Many other cinque-cento sculptors treated Christian subjects almost exclusively, and often with great expression, but no one did so with so little conventionality and such depth of feeling as Civitali.

Civitali's styles.

This sculptor had four styles, of which the St. Sebastian represents the first and most realistic; the Noceto tomb the second and most perfect; the Angels the third, which is freer and more original, but less pure; and the bas-reliefs of the altar of St. Regulus, with those in the Duomo at Genoa, the fourth, whose extravagance is strangely at variance with all the others.

Although during the greater part of his life he worked as a sculptor, he was also a thoroughly accomplished architect, and greatly improved the style of building in his native town. The chapel or temple of the Volto Santo in the Duomo, built at Count Bertini's expense, is looked upon as one of the most perfect examples of the Early Renaissance, and the palace of the Lucchesini at San Giusto is scarcely less highly considered.[2]

Niccolò.

Dying in the year 1501, Civitali left behind him a son, Niccolò, architect and sculptor, who built the Palazzo dei Bernardini at

[1] They were finished in 1496, as Marchesi (vol. ii. p. 332) states that Civitali then made a Madonna and Child above life-size, and a white marble altar, for the Church of S. Michele in Foro.

[2] Ricci, vol. iii. p. 216.

Matteo Civitali sc.

FAITH.

Lucca, and those of the Santini at Gattajola and the Sinibaldi at Massa Pisana. We know nothing of him as a sculptor, but that he worked in the baptistry at Pietra Santa.

Vincenzo Civitali.

One of his descendants, Vincenzo Civitali, who attained eminence as a military and civil architect, and as a sculptor in the sixteenth century, showed by two incidents in his career that he was a man of character and principle. When charged with the continuation of the walls and military defences of Lucca, he demanded permission to expose and rectify the errors of his predecessor in office, which being refused to him, he immediately resigned his post and left the town. Not long after, the directors, convinced of their mistake, and moved by the representations of Emmanuel Filiberto Duke of Savoy, and Vincenzo d' Este Duke of Ferrara, who held Civitali in great esteem, recalled him and reinstated him with full discretionary powers. Much as he valued the friendship of the Duke of Ferrara, Vincenzo afterwards refused to build the fortress of Garfagnana for him, fearing it might eventually endanger the liberties of his country; by which act, be it told to the duke's credit, he gained in his favour and esteem.

CHRONOLOGY.

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA—	A.D.
Born	1400
Sculptures five bas-reliefs for the Campanile, two bas-reliefs of the Imprisonment and Crucifixion of St. Peter, Uffizi	1438
Ten bas-reliefs for the balustrade of an organ in Uffizi	1435 or 1445
Bronze gate of the Sacristy in the Duomo at Florence	1445—1463
Tomb of Bishop Federighi in SS. Francesco e Paolo at Florence	1451—1456
First bas-reliefs in Robbia ware, viz. the Resurrection and Ascension in the Duomo	1446
Dies about	1481

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA— A.D.

Born 1437
His son Giovanni, born 1470
His sons Girolamo, Luca, and Ambrogio.
Frieze of the Ceppo hospital at Pistoja . . 1503—1514
Altar-piece in S. Spirito at Siena, by Ambrogio . . 1504
Altar-piece in S. Spirito at Fiesole, by Girolamo . . 1521
Goes to France, and decorates the Château de Madrid for Francis I. with Robbia ware 1527
Dies about 1567

AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO or GUCCIO, called also DE FLORENTIA—
Sculptures two bas-reliefs, now on the outside of the Duomo at Modena; façade of the Church of S. Bernardino at Perugia 1461

BERNARDO ROSSELLINO—
Born 1409
Buildings at Pienza and Siena; tomb of Lionardo Bruni at Santa Croce, after 1444
Tomb of the Beata Villana at Santa Maria Novella, and of Filippo Lazzari in S. Domenico at Pistoja . .
Dies in 1470

ANTONIO ROSSELLINO—
Born 1427
Tomb of the Cardinal di Portogallo at San Miniato; tomb of Mary of Aragon at Monte Oliveto, Naples, after . 1466
Bas-relief of the Nativity in the same church; bas-relief of the Adoring Madonna, Uffizi; memorial tablet to Francesco Neri at Santa Croce; bust of Matteo Palmieri in the Uffizi 1468
Three bas-reliefs on the pulpit of the Duomo at Prato; statue of St. John at the Uffizi . . . 1473
Dies about 1490

MINO DI GIOVANNI, called DA FIESOLE—
Born . . . . . 1431—1432
Tomb of Bishop Salutati in the Duomo at Fiesole; and Ancona in the same church 1462
Altar-piece at San Ambrogio; monuments of Count Ugo, Bernardo, Giugni; and altar-piece in the Badia at Florence; two bas-reliefs on the pulpit at Prato 1472—1473

	A.D.
Goes to Rome, after	1473
Monument of Pope Paul II. for St. Peter's; tabernacle at Santa Maria in Trastevere; returns to Florence, and dies in	1486
MATTEO CIVITALI DI LUCCA—	
Born	1435
Statue of St. Sebastian; tomb of Pietro da Noceto .	1470
Altar of St. Regulus; tomb of Count Bertini . . (All which are in the Duomo at Lucca).	1484
Six statues and five bas-reliefs in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the the Duomo at Genoa . .	1490
Bas-relief of Faith in the Uffizi; chapel of the Volto Santo in the Duomo at Lucca	1484
Dies in	1501

ZACHARIAS. (By Civitali.)

BOOK IV.

TARES AMONG THE WHEAT.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLLAJUOLO—THE MAJANI—BARTOLOMEO DI MONTELUPO AND THE FERUCCI.

IT is singular that among the many young men employed by Ghiberti, as his assistants at Florence, no one adopted his style, and that those artists who did so to a certain extent were not bred in his school. Antonio Rossellino, whom we have already pointed out as the most marked imitator of his manner, was a scholar of Donatello; Benedetto da Majano, who shows signs of his influence, could not have studied under him, as he was but a boy when Ghiberti died; Michelozzo left him for Donatello; Brunelleschi, whom he instructed, early abandoned sculpture; Lamberti, his scholar, had no marked manner; while lastly, Antonio Pollajuolo (of whom we now propose to give some account) not only did not imitate his master, but from the first tended to an extravagance and mannerism, which that master would have been the first to condemn.

Antonio Pollajuolo, born in 1433.

Vasari tells us that Jacopo, the father of Antonio, was a man of very low rank, and Cellini says that he derived his name of Pollajuolo from his occupation, which was that of a poultry keeper.[1] Whatever his rank, Antonio appreciated the talents of his son,[2]

[1] Baldinucci and Gaye (vol. i. pp. 265, 266) deny this, on the ground that Antonio and Piero belonged to the rank of citizens.

[2] The Pollajuolos were a family of artists; for besides Antonio and Piero, there was Simone, called Cronaca, their cousin, a famous architect; and his brother Matteo, pupil of Antonio Rossellino, who was a sculptor of great promise at the time of his early death (F. Albertini, *De Mirabilibus*, etc. pp. 84, 101).

and showed his judgment by placing him in the workshop of Ghiberti's step-father Bartoluccio, the goldsmith, where he soon attracted the notice of Ghiberti, who in many instances adopted
A.D. 1453. his designs, as did many artists of the time,[1] and employed him with other pupils to model the frieze around Andrea Pisano's bronze gate to the Baptistry, into which he introduced a quail fluttering among thick leaves and thistles, which is still pointed out for admiration on account of its wonderful truth to nature.

Pollajuolo as a goldsmith.

Of his goldsmith work we have two examples in the bas-reliefs representing the feast of Herod and the dance of Herodias, which he made for the oft-mentioned silver altar in the Opera del Duomo at Florence;[2] these, with a bronze relief of the Crucifixion in the Uffizi (of doubtful authenticity) show, that even at the outset of his career his style was distinguished for an extravagance of gesture and expression, utterly opposed to the purity and elegance of contemporary art.

As a niellist.

As a niellist he ranked with the best of his time, such as Maso Finiguerra, Forzone Spinelli, Caradosso of Milan, and Turini of Siena; but we can only judge of his skill in this art by an enamelled Pax of the Deposition in the Uffizi, as his Descent from the Cross, and his martyrdom of San Lorenzo[3] were destroyed during the siege of Florence, and the ornaments in intaglio and niello, which Cellini tells us he made around a Pax of the Crucifixion by Maso Finiguerra, also exist no longer.

As a painter.

With the facility of genius, Antonio turned from the gold-

[1] Cellini, *Introduction to the Trattato dell' Oreficeria*, p. 7.

[2] Duchesne (*Essai sur les Nielles*, p. 102) says this altar was begun in 1366, and completed in 1442; the latter date, which would exclude Pollajuolo, must be correct. Labarte (*op. cit.* p. 248) tells us that two splendid candlesticks, made by Pollajuolo, Milano di Dei, and Beato di Francesco for this altar, were melted down in 1527 to defray the expenses of the Florentine war against Pope Clement VII. and Charles V.

[3] Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 325, table 3; Cellini, *Trattato cit.* p. 13; Cicognara, *Mem. della Calcografia*, p. 246.

smith's art, which however he never abandoned, to painting, which he studied under, and practised with his younger brother Piero, who had learned his hard dry style from Andrea del Castagno. The picture in the Uffizi, of SS. James, Eustace, and Vincent, painted by the two brothers, may be cited as an example of their joint manner, while that of Antonio is exemplified by the small pictures of the labours of Hercules in the same gallery, which show the same love of extravagant gesture and grimace exhibited in his other works, combined with rare skill in drawing, high finish, and great anatomical knowledge. He was, we are told, the first painter who dissected dead bodies in order to apply the knowledge thus acquired to his art,[1] but unfortunately he was by no means the last who made an obtrusive display of science, and falsified nature by an exaggerated exhibition of the hidden machinery by which she works. This is especially conspicuous in the only engraving which he made, representing ten naked men with extravagantly developed muscles, fighting in a wood.[2]

As an anatomist.

As an engraver.

Having passed nearly half a century in these various occupations at Florence, Pollajuolo was called to Rome by Pope Innocent VIII., to make the bronze monument of his predecessor Sixtus IV. for the chapel of the Sacrament at St. Peter's; the figure of the Pontiff, dressed in robes of state, lies upon a sort of ornamental bronze bed, whose sides, curving outwards, are covered with figures of the seven virtues and the ten liberal arts. The hard realistic portrait of Pope Sixtus is only valuable historically, while the virtues are extremely vicious in an artistical point of view, and the liberal arts, liberal only in extravagance

As a sculptor.

Tomb of Sixtus IV. about 1480.

[1] Vasari, vol. v. p. 98, note 5.

[2] His master in engraving was Tommaso, son of Maso Finiguerra. An example of the engraving mentioned in the text may be seen in the Uffizi, No. 4. No. 5, mentioned by Bartsch (vol. ix. p. 47), was probably designed by Antonio, or one of his scholars. As an example of his skill as a medallist, see a medal commemorative of the Pazzi conspiracy in the Uffizi collection.

of gesture and vehemence of action.[1] All the pure traditions of that Tuscan school from which Pollajuolo sprang, are here abandoned, and nothing good remains to redeem a style which justly entitles its propagator to be called the Bernini of the Cinque-cento. In the monument of Innocent VIII. which he afterwards made for St. Peter's, the Pope is represented by two statues in bronze,[2] the one stretched upon a sarcophagus, the other seated, and giving the papal benediction with the right hand, while in the left he holds a lance, representing the one supposed to be that which pierced our Saviour's side, which was sent by the Sultan Bajazet to the Grand Master of Rhodes, as a bribe to retain his brother Zizim, whom he held as a hostage, in captivity. The Grand Master sent Zizim and the lance to the Pope, who, delighted at the acquisition of so sacred a relic, not only sent two cardinals and two bishops as far as Narni to escort it to Rome, but himself advanced some miles beyond the Porta del Popolo with great pomp and ceremony, to bring it to St. Peter's.

Tomb of Innocent VIII.

A.D. 1492.

On either side of the seated statue are four niches separated by pilasters, containing statuettes of the four Cardinal Virtues, with their appropriate symbols; and above it, in a lunette, is a crowned woman, emblematic of Divine Providence, with Faith on her right hand, and Hope on her left. The bronze doors of the receptacle of the chains of St. Peter at San Pietro in Vincoli, whose bas-reliefs represent the imprisonment and the liberation of St. Peter, were made by Antonio Pollajuolo for Pope

[1] Cardinal G. della Rovere and Fazio Santonio, Bishop of Cesena, are also buried in this monument. Pope Urban VIII., in 1635, removed from it two very ornate metal candlesticks, which stood at its head and foot (Valentini, *Basilica Vaticana*. Rome, 1845).

[2] Double representatives of the same person as taking part in successive events, were introduced by Niccola Pisano in the bas-reliefs of the Arca di San Domenico, and by Ghiberti in his second gate; but with the single exception of the monument of the Beato Settala at Milan, we know of no other example than this of such a license in sculpture.

CHRIST, ST JOHN AND THE MADONNA

Sixtus IV., whose arms, with those of Julius II., are there introduced.[1]

In this same church the artist and his brother Piero are buried,[2] under a monument adorned with their busts, in the left aisle near the great entrance. M. 1496.

Benedetto da Majano. N. 1442. M. 1497.

From Pollajuolo let us turn to an artist, who, though far less versatile, was endowed with greater talent as a sculptor and had a far purer taste. This artist is Benedetto di Nardo da Majano, one of the three sons of Antonio da Majano, a stone-cutter of Florence, the eldest of whom, Giuliano, was a celebrated architect, intarsiatore and sculptor, who spent much of his life at Naples in the service of the Duke of Calabria;[3] and the youngest, Giovanni, a sculptor of no great note. About a mile outside the gate of Prato on the road to Florence stands a little wayside shrine, called the Madonna dell' Ulivo, whose altar is decorated with a Madonna in terra-cotta by Benedetto, and a Pietà in relief by himself and his brothers. (See Plate XXXIV.) The figures, which are in white marble, set against a slab of dark green stone, represent our Lord supported by the Madonna and St. John, who express their grief by a play of feature bordering on grimace. Valuable as a careful realistic study and full of feeling, it reminds us of Antonio Pollajuolo by its exaggerated sentiment, and the hard sharp lines of its draperies, and as no artist less resembled him than Benedetto, we must suppose it to be principally the work of Giuliano and Giovanni, who are not otherwise known

Giuliano da Majano. N. 1432. M. 1490.

The Madonna dell' Ulivo. A.D. 1480.

[1] Antonio must have come to Rome earlier than is generally supposed, if (as is said) these doors were ordered by Sixtus in 1477. Julius II. was a cardinal of this church.

[2] Gualandi says Antonio directed in his will that he should be buried at S. Pietro in Vincoli (p. 49, fifth series, *op. cit.*).

[3] Afterwards Alphonso XI. Giuliano, who built the Porta Capuana (but did not sculpture its bas-reliefs) and the Palace of Poggio Reale, could not have erected the triumphal arch of Castel Nuovo, which was begun in 1443. Vide Commentary to his life; Vasari, vol. iv. pp. 8–12; and Appendix to his chapter, letter A.

to us. To see how differently Benedetto worked, we need but glance at the rounded forms, and sweet expression of the terra-cotta Madonna upon the altar above this bas-relief, which corresponds in style to all his other works. He began life as an intarsiatore, or worker in wooden mosaic,[1] and in this material made two beautifully inlaid chests, which he took with him to Hungary as an offering to King Matthias Corvinus, reports of whose enlightened patronage of art had reached him.[2] On his arrival, he caused them to be unpacked in the royal presence, when to his great disappointment he found that they had fallen to pieces from the effect of sea-damp. Convinced by this sad misfortune that his time was thrown away in working upon materials so fragile, he determined to devote himself wholly to sculpture, and during his stay in Hungary executed several works in terra-cotta and marble, of whose subjects and fate we are alike ignorant. Some time after his return to Florence, he sculptured some children bearing festoons, and a statue of St. John, as ornaments about the door of the Hall of Audience in the Palazzo Vecchio, which was inlaid with coloured woods by his brother Giuliano, and an artist named Francione. The St. John, now in the Uffizi (see Tail-piece), though not remarkable for force or individuality, is a pleasing figure, worked out with great care, especially in the hands, which are remarkably elegant in form.

Benedetto as an intarsiatore.

He determines to devote himself to sculpture.

Benedetto as an architect.

The Palazzo Strozzi.

After leaving Hungary he must have devoted much time to the study of architecture, as the Palazzo Strozzi, the first building which he is known to have designed, is one of the noblest palaces in Italy. Its style, which is that of the Early Renaissance, introduced by Brunelleschi and Michelozzo, is massive, rocklike and defiant, and eminently suggestive of times when street commotions

[1] This branch of art, which consists in combining different coloured woods into figures, ornaments, and effects of perspective, came into vogue when Brunelleschi and Paolo Uccello perfected perspective. It corresponds to the 'opus sectile' of the ancients in all but the material (Marchesi, vol. ii. p. 225).

[2] See Appendix to this chapter, letter B.

of a serious character were common events. It was after much misgiving as to the too great magnificence of Benedetto's plan, which he feared would excite the envy of his fellow-citizens, that Filippo Strozzi adopted it, and after expending immense sums on the purchase and destruction of many private houses which occupied its proposed site, 'on the 16th of August 1489, just as the sun rose above the mountains, he laid the corner stone in the name of God, as a good beginning for himself and his descendants, and all those who should work upon the building.'[1] For a short period, the works advanced rapidly, but after the death of Filippo Strozzi, A.D. 1491. despite the minute directions left in his will, they were suspended, and when his son Filippo resumed them, he appointed Simon Pollajuolo called Cronaca, the architect, who crowned the sombre walls with a magnificent Corinthian cornice, suggested by an antique fragment which he had seen at Rome.[2]

In the very year of his death, Filippo Strozzi the elder commissioned Benedetto to make his monument, which stands in a recess behind the altar of the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella. It consists of a sarcophagus, whose front is adorned with a bas-relief of two angels holding a memorial tablet. The space above it is filled by an ornate roundel, supported by adoring angels and

Tomb of Filippo Strozzi.

[1] *Vita di F. Strozzi il Vecchio, del Bini e Bigazzi. Ricordi di F. Strozzi di Santucci.* MS. Diaries. Vide Ricci, vol. iii. pp. 243, 303, note 12; also Vasari, vol. viii. p. 117.

[2] The very beautiful lanterns of wrought iron which adorn the lower story of this palace were made by Niccolò Grossi, the most renowned metal-worker of his day. Lorenzo de' Medici gave him the nickname of 'Caparra,' because in making a contract he always expected that a portion of the sum agreed upon should be paid him. 'First come, first served,' was his rule, whether the comer were a prince or a peasant. Lanterns of iron, or sockets for torches (braccialetti), were a distinguishing mark of the dwellings of noble Florentines; and their use was also conceded to citizens who had rendered eminent services to the State (e.g., to Amerigo Vespucci; Ricci, vol. iii. p. 206). This custom, which caused the art of working in iron to be greatly perfected in Tuscany, fully accounts for the great beauty and high finish of lanterns, sockets, knockers, &c. &c.; which articles, being finished with the file and hammer, fairly enter into the category of works of art (Gaye, vol. i. p. 359).

cherubs, which contains a group of the Madonna and Child, so beautifully composed and carefully modelled, that it deserves to rank not only as the master-piece of its sculptor, but also as one of the loveliest embodiments of the subject in sculpture, and one of the best works of the fifteenth century.

A.D. 1490. Shortly before Benedetto was called to Naples by the news of his brother's death, he made the busts of Giotto, and of the musician Squarcialupo[1] in the Duomo at Florence.

The favour with which the Duke of Calabria had regarded Giuliano di Majano naturally devolved in some measure upon Benedetto, who was constantly employed by him during his two years' residence at Naples. The Conte di Terra Nuova also patronised him by ordering a bas-relief of the Annunciation for

Bas-relief of the Annunciation. the Mastro Giudici Chapel in the church of Monte Oliveto; the Madonna is pleasing and modest, the angel violent and mannered in action, and greatly encumbered by a mass of heavy drapery. Its background represents an elaborately ornamented palace, standing in the midst of a garden, which is treated in perspective. Such use of pictorial effect in sculpture, here resorted to by Benedetto for the first, but by no means for the last time, was probably suggested to him by the bas-reliefs of Antonio Rossellino, in the adjoining chapel, and indirectly shows the influence of Ghiberti upon the art of this century. Statuettes of SS. John the Baptist and Evangelist stand in niches on either side of this relief, above which are roundels, containing half figures of female saints; while the gradino contains seven bas-reliefs, representing the Nativity, the Adoration, the Resurrection, the Entombment, the Transfiguration, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the death of the Virgin.

Altar of S. Savino. In 1493, Benedetto went from Naples to Faenza, to sculpture the very beautiful monumental altar of San Savino for the Duomo. In a Lunette above the altar he placed a sarcophagus,

[1] Vide Appendix, letter C.

with statuettes of the Virgin and an angel on either side. The arch he supported by six pilasters, covered with elaborate Renaissance ornament; and occupied the central portion under the sarcophagus by six bas-reliefs, representing incidents in the life of San Savino, pictorially treated, in flat-surfaced and sharply incised relief. In the first he represented the saint, who while praying is ordered by an angel in the clouds to go to Assisi to preach the gospel; in the second preaching at Assisi; in the third conducted, in company with his deacons, before an idol, which he overthrows; and in the fourth having his hands cut off upon the pedestal on which the idol had stood; in the fifth restoring sight to Prisciano, who kneels naked before him to receive his miraculous touch, while several spectators show by their gestures and features how great an interest they take in the result, and an admirably conceived soldier in the foreground stands absorbed in the arrangement of his sword and shield; in the sixth, and last, the Saint is stoned to death by four men, while lying with his face upon the ground; in the background rise mountains, at the foot of which a man is ploughing with two oxen. Though these bas-reliefs are pictures in marble, they approach more nearly to the requirements of sculpture than many of Ghiberti's reliefs, in that the stories are told by as few figures as possible, in which respect, as well as in flatness of surface-treatment, they resemble those of Donatello.

From Faenza, our sculptor returned to Florence, where a rich merchant, named Pietro Mellini, whose bust he had sculptured many years before,[1] employed him to make a marble pulpit for the church of Santa Croce. Benedetto achieved an architectural triumph, by supporting it against one of the columns of the nave, through which he ingeniously carried its staircase without endangering the safety of the building. In the five reliefs of its panels he represented events from the life of St. Francis, in

Pulpit at Sta. Croce.

[1] In the Uffizi, made in 1474.

that pictorial style which we have already noticed in his bas-reliefs at Naples and Faenza. In the first, we see Pope Honorius III. confirming the establishment of the Franciscans; in the second, their founder passing unharmed through the fire in the presence of the sultan; in the third, receiving the stigmata at La Vernia; in the fourth, his dead body exposed in the Basilica at Assisi; and in the fifth, five of his followers undergoing martyrdom in Mauritania. The fourth of these compositions is especially beautiful, and full of feeling. (See Plate XXXV.) Its central portion is occupied by the bier, around which the monks kneel or stand; while on either side priests, people, and boys swinging censers, are introduced as spectators of the sad scene. Behind them, the church is represented in perspective (its side and central aisles divided by arch-spanned columns), with as illusory an effect as can be produced in marble.

Shrine of Bartolo.

During the last years of his life, Benedetto sculptured the shrine of San Bartolo for the church of San Agostino, at San Gimignano; which, although a well-authenticated work, is not noticed by Vasari or his commentators. In his youth San Bartolo's gentleness and amiability obtained for him the name of 'Angelo di pace;' and in his old age he was called the Tuscan Job, from the patience with which he bore the loathsome leprosy with which he was afflicted for twenty years. He was buried in A.D. 1299. San Agostino, according to his express wish, and after many miracles, said to have been worked at his tomb, was canonised by Pope Alexander VI. In 1488, the commune of San Gimignano set aside funds for the purpose of building a chapel in his honour, and six years later, commissioned Benedetto da Majano to erect in it a monument to his memory.[1] On the front of its sarcophagus, which is placed over a white marble altar, is a

[1] July 16, 1494. See *Storia di San Gimignano*, by the Canonico Luigi Pecori, p. 544.

PLXXXV

Benedetto da Maiano sc.

THE DEATH OF ST FRANCIS

bronze slab, with the inscription 'Ossa Divi Bartoli Gimignianensis, malorum geniorum fugatoris;' on either side of which are sculptured two flying angels, bearing a palm and a crown. Below it, in the 'dossale' of the altar, are three niches containing seated statuettes of Faith, Hope, and Charity; and a predella, which is adorned with three simply designed and admirably composed stories from the life of the saint. In one, while standing upon the steps of an altar with his head reverently bent over a book which he holds in his hands, he casts out a demon from a possessed woman; in another his feet are washed by a man; and in the last he lies upon his death-bed. Above the sarcophagus is a roundel, adorned with cherubs' heads, leaves, and flowers, containing an alto-relievo of the Madonna and Child, almost if not quite equal to that of the Strozzi monument at Sta. Maria Novella.

Altar of Sta. Fina.

The altar-piece which Benedetto sculptured for the chapel of Sta. Fina in the Duomo at San Gimignano is far less interesting. It consists of a grated doorway, closing the receptacle for the pyx, on either side of which are niches containing statuettes of angels, and below, a predella with bas-reliefs representing the saint restoring a dead man to life, her death, and her funeral; above the doorway is a group of the Madonna and Child, surrounded by cherubs and adoring angels.[1] He also made, at the expense of the commune, the bust of Onofrio Vanni, an eminent and pious citizen of San Gimignano, called 'the father of the poor,' which is preserved in the sacristy of the Duomo.[2]

May 29, 1497.

When Benedetto died, he left his property in trust to be divided between his male and female descendants, which failing, it was to revert to the Company of the Bigallo, as it eventually did. This Company thus became possessed of an unfinished

A.D. 1588.

[1] May 29, 1490 and Dec. 13, 1493, Benedetto is recorded in the *Lib. dell' Opera* as the recipient of certain sums of money for the 'Epitaffio di S. Fina' (Pecori, *op. cit.* p. 519).

[2] In May, 1493. Vide Pecori, p. 527, and *Doc.* xcviii. p. 653.

group of the Madonna and Child, and of a small statue of St. Sebastian, both which they caused to be finished, and then presented to the Misericordia (at the time a separate corporation), in whose chapel they may still be seen.[1] Tuscany has produced few sculptors so graceful and pleasing as Benedetto, whose sentiment though not profound, was always true and unaffected, and whose style was exempt from mannerism.

Andrea Ferucci. N. 1465.

We have already mentioned Francesco da Siena, one of the Ferucci family; another of its members, Andrea di Piero Ferucci, architect and sculptor, spent the early part of his life at Naples in the employ of Antonio di Giorgio da Settignano, architectural engineer to Don Ferrante,[2] after whose death he returned to Tuscany and sculptured the ancona of the high altar in the Duomo at Fiesole, the centre of which is occupied by a 'ciborium,' placed below a bas-relief of the Annunciation, between statuettes of SS. Matthew and Romulus. The gradino is sculptured with delicate reliefs, illustrative of the Mystery of the Holy Eucharist. Without being very marked in character, this work is pleasing in style, and ably sculptured. Another altar-piece of the same character, which Ferucci made for the church of San Girolamo at Fiesole, may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, with a tabernacle very similar in design to those of Mino da Fiesole, above whom Vasari very unjustly exalts him, though he was decidedly his inferior in style and sweetness of feeling. He was a second-rate artist, whose works are pleasing but wanting in character, and who owed his success rather to the good school in which he was educated, than to any great natural gifts. One of his best works is the half figure of Massilio Ficino in the Duomo at Florence, of which the head is very living; the hands which hold a book (probably the works of Plato, of whose philosophy he was so

[1] See Appendix to this chapter, letter D. Benedetto's will is published in Gaye's *Carteggio*, vol. i. p. 270. The editors of Vasari state that he died after 1498, but the Bigallo archives give the date adopted in the text.

[2] Son of Alphonso II. of Aragon; became king in 1490.

celebrated an exponent) are admirably modelled.[1] Other works by Ferucci are the statue of San Andrea in the Duomo at Florence; a chapel in the church of the Innocenti at Imola; two angels in the Duomo at Volterra; and two crucifixes in the fourth right-hand chapel of the church of Sta. Felicità at Florence. Shortly before his death, he began the monument of Antonio Strozzi at Sta. Maria Novella, which was completed by his scholars, Silvio Cosini and Tommaso Boscoli.[2] A.D. 1527.

Another member of the Ferucci family was Francesco di Giovanni, generally called Cecco del Tadda, who having been taught by Duke Cosimo I. a process by which iron tools could be sufficiently hardened by the juice of certain herbs to cut porphyry (which being harder than all other stones excepting gems, and flinty substances,[3] cannot be worked with implements of common temper), revived that forgotten art. In this material he made the statue of Justice, which stands on the top of the column in the Piazza Sta. Trinità in Florence, and four medallion portrait heads, preserved in the vestibule of the Uffizi gallery, one of which is a portrait of Cosmo, Pater Patriæ. In his old age Cecco del Tadda told Padre Timoteo Perugino,[4] and several other persons, that when employed as a bombardier by Pope Clement VII. and during the siege of Rome, he was seized with the plague, and while on his way in a cart to a Lazzaretto near St. John Lateran, met two Dominican Friars who looked closely at him; and that he, moved by a secret instinct, having fallen upon his knees to ask

Cecco del Tadda. M. 1585.

Revives the art of cutting porphyry.

A.D 1527.

[1] Ficino, who was the son of Cosmo de' Medici's physician, studied Plato under Gemisthus Pletho, one of the six learned disputants selected by the Greeks to conduct the debates concerning the union of the Greek and Latin churches, at the Council held at Florence by Pope Eugenius IV.

[2] Cosini, whose 'forte' lay in ornamental sculpture, afterwards worked under Michael Angelo in the Capella dei Depositi at San Lorenzo; as did Boscoli, upon the monument of Pope Julius at Rome.

[3] Such as jasper, agate, onyx, etc. Don Baptista Alberti was one of the first persons who made investigations upon this subject.

[4] MS. written by Fra Seraphino Razzi, in the possession of Count Carlo Cappari.

a blessing, one of them stopped, and after making the sign of the cross upon his forehead with some ointment which he took from a wallet that hung at his side, said, 'This I do because you have had faith in Frà Girolamo,' and instantly disappeared. Tadda recovered with the firm belief that the friar was Savonarola, whose words he explained by the fact that in his youth, when working in the Duomo at Florence with his brother-in-law, who was in the habit of abusing and cursing the memory of Savonarola, he always replied by the expression of his faith in him.[1]

Bartolomeo di Montelupo. A. 1445.

Another miraculous reappearance of the great Dominican was related by Bartolomeo Sinbaldi di Montelupo the sculptor, to Burlamacchi.[2]

Bartolomeo, who had spent his early years in dissipation, commenced his studies late in life, but emulous of those who had outstripped him in his profession, worked with such ardour that he soon attained fame as an artist. Like many of his companions, he became a devoted follower of Savonarola, and after his death, finding it impossible to remain at Florence, went to Bologna and began to model statues of the twelve apostles, by the sale of which he hoped to make some money for his wife and children, whom he had left behind in a state of poverty. The canon at whose house he lodged, wishing to obtain possession of these statues, that he might present them to Giovanni Bentivoglio Lord of Bologna (from whom he hoped to obtain a government office for his brother), tried to persuade Montelupo to give them to him, which he refused to do, but being really in great need of money, offered to sell them for half their value. Worn out with toil and anxiety, Montelupo was seized with a

[1] One of the four sons of Cecco del Tadda, named Romulus, inherited his father's secret of working in porphyry, which he transmitted to his own son Pompeo, who worked at Rome during the Pontificate of Paul V. Another member of this artistical family, Andrea di Domenico Ferucci, who died in 1625, made some statues for the Boboli Gardens during the dukedom of Cosimo II.

[2] *Vita di Savonarola*, pp. 166–167.

fever, the progress of which his wicked host determined to assist, by mixing a slow poison in his medicine, hoping after his death to obtain the coveted statues. Thus doubly attacked, the victim soon found himself at death's door, and feeling that his end was near, he prayed earnestly to Savonarola to succour him and his unfortunate family. Hardly had his prayer been uttered when he beheld the sainted friar floating above his bed in a halo of glory, and heard a voice which said, 'Arise, and go to the house of Camillo della Siepe' (his father's old friend), 'there you will be restored to health.' This he did believing, and soon became strong and well.[1]

Savonarola's influence upon the artists of his day.

Though we may be inclined to give little credence to this story, we may take it as one of the proofs of that faith in his power which Savonarola implanted in so many artists of his day. Among these were Sandro Botticelli,[2] who gave up painting for love of him, and would have starved without the assistance of Lorenzo de' Medici and other friends; the Robbias, two of whom were made priests by his hands, and who testified their veneration for him by coining a medal bearing his portrait on one side, and on the other a city with many towers, above which appeared a hand holding a dagger pointed downwards, with the motto, 'Gladius Domini sup. terram cito et velociter;' Lorenzo di Credi, who spent the latter years of his life in the convent of Sta. Maria Novella; Fra Bartolomeo, who became a monk in the convent of St. Mark, and who was so afflicted by Savonarola's death, that he gave up painting for four years; Cronaca, who ceased story-telling, for which he had become famous, and would talk only of Fra Girolamo;

[1] Among the works of Bartolomeo di Montelupo, are a statue of Mars upon the monument of Benedetto Pesaro in the Frari at Venice; the arms of Leo X. on the wall of a garden near the Palazzo Pucci at Florence; the bronze statue of St. John the Evangelist in one of the niches outside of San Michele; and a crucifix in the refectory of the Convent of St. Mark at Florence. He died at Lucca in 1522, aged eighty-eight.

[2] See Vasari, vol. v. p. 117, and vol. vii. p. 154. Rio, *Art Chrétien*, vol. i. ch. viii. xi.; also Ranalli, vol. i. p. 304.

Giovanni della Corniole, who perpetuated his likeness in one of the finest of modern gems; and Michael Angelo, who was one of the Friar's constant auditors in his youth, who pored over his sermons when an old man, and ever retained a vivid impression of his powerful voice and impassioned gestures, proving that he had profited by his eloquent appeals when he defended the republic on the slopes of San Miniato. These men understood that Savonarola was not an enemy to art, although he persuaded the people to make bonfires of gems, books, pictures, and drawings of a licentious character, and induced artists to destroy their studies from the nude;[1] they knew that he simply desired the triumph of Christianity, and of spiritual things in art, in manners, and in politics; in short that he was fighting for Christian against Pagan art. 'You artists' (said Savonarola in one of his sermons), 'by draping the Virgin and the Saints with a profusion of splendidly adorned vestments, lose the true object of art, and instead of seeking to express an elevated and sublime type in a noble and holy way, paint persons noted for their evil life and their obscure and scandalous habits, to the great contempt of divine things; and thus lead young men who recognise them in the churches, to go about saying to this and that loose woman, you are the Magdalen, and you the Madonna, and you the St. John; you thus commit a sin, and cause grievous scandal, of which, if you realised the extent as I do, you never would be guilty.'[2] But even the wide-spread influence, the fearlessness, the earnestness, and the eloquence of this Italian Luther, could not revive the spirit of Christian art

[1] According to Prof. Villani, the value of the objects destroyed in the 'bruciamento della vanità,' at the end of the Carnival of 1497, has been greatly exaggerated. They were chiefly rich dresses, portraits of bad women, books adorned with gold, &c. &c. (*Vita di Savonarola*, vol. i. p. 462).

[2] That Savonarola was no enemy to literature is proved by his having induced the monks of St. Mark's to purchase the Laurentian library for 3,000 florins, which would otherwise have been scattered among the creditors of the Medici, among whom was the French ambassador, Messer Philippe de Commines, by whom it would have been removed to France (Villani, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 467).

which steadily declined during the last half of the fifteenth century. Artists had eaten the forbidden fruit, and thus gained a knowledge which made them prefer skill to the higher qualities of feeling and composition, and few among them looked back with regret to the angel-guarded gates of a lost Paradise.

CHRONOLOGY.

	A.D.
ANTONIO POLLAJUOLO—	
Born	1433
Works upon the bronze frieze about the door of the Baptistry	1453
Two bas-reliefs in silver for the altar in the Opera del Duomo	
Paintings, niellos, engravings; goes to Rome, about	1480
Monuments of Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. at St. Peter's; bronze doors at San Pietro in Vincoli.	
Dies	1496
GIULIANO DA MAJANO—born 1432; BENEDETTO—born 1442; GIOVANNI—date of birth unknown.	
Shrine of the Madonna dell' Ulivo near Prato; bas-relief by the three brothers, dated	1480
Benedetto goes to Hungary; returns to Florence; sculptures St. John and ornaments about a door in the Palazzo Vecchio; bust of Pietro Mellini in the Uffizi	1471
Designs the Palazza Strozzi; commences it Aug. 16	1489
Busts of Giotto and Squarcialupo in the Duomo	1490
Goes to Naples, circa	1490
Monument to Filippo Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella	1491
Annunciation bas-relief in the Church of Monte Oliveto	1491—1492
Monumental altar of San Savino in the Duomo at Faenza	1493
Pulpit at Santa Croce	1494
Monument of S. Bartolo in S. Agostino; altar in Chapel of Santa Fina, and bust of Onofrio Vanni in Duomo at San Gimignano	1494
Dies May 29	1497
ANDREA DI PIERO FERUCCI—	
Born	1465
High altar in the Duomo at Fiesole; altar-piece for S. Girolamo at Fiesole, and a tabernacle, now in South Kensington Museum; bust of Massilio Ficino in the Duomo at	

A.D.

Florence, and statue of St. Andrew; two crucifixes in Santa Felicità at Florence; chapel in the Church of the Innocenti at Imola; and two angels in the Duomo at Volterra.

Commences monument of Antonio Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella 1526

Dies 1527

FRANCESCO DI GIOVANNI FERUCCI, called CECCO DEL TADDA—

Porphyry statue of Justice on column in Piazza Santa Trinità, and four medallion portrait heads, Uffizi.

Died 1585

BARTOLOMEO SINIBALDI DA MONTELUPO—

Born 1445

Statue of Mars on the monument of Benedetto Pesaro in the Frari at Venice; bronze statue of St. John the Evangelist in Or San Michele; crucifix in refectory of St. Mark's at Florence.

Dies at Lucca 1522

S. JOHN. (By B. da Majano.)

CHAPTER IX.

ANDREA CONTUCCI, JACOPO TATTI, FRANCESCO DI SANGALLO.

IN the first half of the fifteenth century Tuscan sculpture attained its highest excellence; but in the second, upon which we are now to enter, the pure traditions of Donatello's school were gradually lost, and artists aimed at smooth elegance rather than at truth and character. The seeds of this decay were planted by Ghiberti when he set aside recognised laws by breaking down the barriers between painting and sculpture, and its progress was fostered by his scholar Antonio Pollajuolo, and his pupil Andrea Contucci di Monte Sansavino, one of the most renowned sculptors of the second half of this century.

Decadence of sculpture in Tuscany.

It may seem strange to talk of the decadence of sculpture in Tuscany at a period which gave birth to Michael Angelo, but we must remember that he was in every respect a gigantic exception to the sculptors of his time, and while we admire his splendid genius, must also admit that he too was an artist of the latter days, who had his share in bringing about the downfall of art.

Fifteen years before his birth, Andrea Contucci, the son of a shepherd, was born at Monte San Savino. Like Giotto, he drew the sheep which he tended upon flat stones picked up in the fields, and while thus occupied, had the good fortune to attract the notice of Simon Vespucci, the Podestà of San Savino, who, struck with the boy's talent, immediately sought out his father Niccolò, and offered to send him to Florence to be educated as an artist. This generous proposition having been gladly accepted,

Andrea Sansavino, N. A.D. 1460. M. 1529.

Enters the studio of Pollajuolo.

Andrea soon found himself at work in the studio of Pollajuolo, and in the gardens of St. Mark, where, under the superintendence of Donatello's pupil, Bertoldo, he had the opportunity of studying those examples of antique, as well as modern art, which had been collected and placed there by Lorenzo de' Medici, in the hope that among the students might be found some new Donatello or Ghiberti.

Under these favourable circumstances our young sculptor made rapid progress, and carved the capitals of some pilasters for the sacristy of the church of S. Spirito so well, that he was appointed first to carry out some architectural repairs, and then to make an altar for the Corbinelli Chapel in the same church. At the back of this altar stands a 'ciborium,' with niches on either side of it containing statuettes of SS. James and Matthew, over which are figures of the Virgin and an angel in roundels, and a Lunette in which is a bas-relief representing the Coronation of the Virgin. Above the entablature stands a child Christ between two angels; in the gradino are sculptured three delicately executed reliefs of the Supper at Emmaus, the Beheading of St. John, and other subjects from the New Testament; and upon the altar-front is placed a very expressive Pietà in relief. The style of this work, unlike that of Andrea's master Pollajuolo, is sober and pure, without being remarkably individual; the figures are rounded in form, and the workmanship is that of an accomplished artist.

Altar in the Corbinelli chapel.

Andrea goes to Portugal, A.D. 1490–91.

When about thirty years old, Andrea (by the advice of Lorenzo de' Medici), accepted the appointment of architect and sculptor to King John of Portugal, for whom he built a royal palace, carved a wooden altar adorned with statuettes of prophets, and made a bas-relief in bronze representing the king fighting against the Moors, and a statue of St. Mark, both which still exist in the church of that Evangelist at Coimbra.[1] But although his position was in every respect advantageous, he at last became wearied of his

[1] Raczynski, *Les Arts in Portugal*, p. 345.

long absence from country and friends, and having with some difficulty obtained permission to return to Florence, spent several years there, employed in making a font for the baptistry at Volterra, a Madonna and Child for the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the cathedral at Genoa, and a marble group of St. John baptizing our Lord, which stands over one of the doors of the baptistry at Florence.[1] St. John, with his robe gathered up in his left hand, pours water from a cup upon the head of Christ, who stands with bent head and folded arms by his side. Both figures are well modelled and simply treated, and belong to that kind of art which offends no law of taste, and admits of as little praise as blame.

Returns to Florence, A.D. 1500.

A.D. 1502.

A.D. 1504.

Andrea next went to Rome, where Pope Julius II. commissioned him to make the monuments of two cardinals for the church of Santa Maria del Popolo.[2] In these works, which are universally acknowledged to be Sansavino's master-pieces, we have a striking example of the inferiority of his taste to that of the best scholars of Ghiberti or Donatello; they are a bewildering maze of statuettes and decorations, which perplex the eye, and distract the attention from the central figures, no longer laid out in calm repose, but reclining in uneasy attitudes, which could not exist in life, or be maintained in death.

Goes to Rome about A.D. 1509.

Tombs in S. Maria del Popolo.

This compromise between the pagan and the mediæval mode of representing the dead, is equally removed from the meaning of the first, and the beautiful fitness of the second. The Etruscans and Romans either placed a bust in a recess in front of the sarcophagus, or a portrait statue upon it, generally reclining upon one elbow as if assisting at a banquet, but rarely stretched out as if asleep,[3] their object being to recall the individual to his friends as they had known him in life, and as they supposed him still to be, capable of enjoying, but in a more abundant

[1] Finished by Vincenzo Danti. The angel is by Innocenzo Spinazzi, who flourished in the seventeenth century.

[2] They were finished before 1509 (Vasari, vol. viii. p. 166, note 1).

[3] As on a sarcophagus in one of the tombs at Cervetri.

measure, the pleasures which he had tasted in this world. The Christian sculptor, on the other hand, taught by his religion that when the corruptible body was laid in the grave, the spirit returned to God who gave it, made the marble effigy upon the tomb as much like the dead body which lay within it as possible. (See Plates IV. and XXIV.) Each had a reason for the course which he adopted, whereas we can find none for the senseless innovation of Sansavino, by which he neither imitated life, nor the majestic repose and impressive stillness of death. (See Plate XXXVI.)

The two monuments are almost identical in design. In each the sarcophagus is surmounted by a lunette, containing a bas-relief of the Madonna and Child, with statuettes of the Virtues on either side; while the pilasters, architraves, bases, and flat spaces are covered with shells, festoons, coats of arms, and a profusion of ornament worked out with great technical skill. One of them is to Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere, who was the recipient of many bounties from his two uncles, Popes Sixtus IV. and Julius II.; the other to Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza, brother of Lodovico il Moro, a skilful politician, and so much beloved by the poor for his charities, that after his death (which was caused either by poison[1] or the plague) fear of infection did not prevent them from crowding around his corpse, and kissing his hands with every show of feeling.

Group at S. Agostino.

Sansavino's next work was a group of the Madonna and Child, and St. Anne, for a chapel in the church of Sant' Agostino, which, though without any great charm of style or sentiment, was so greatly admired at the time, that it called forth more laudatory verses than any other work of art had ever done. No less than a hundred and twenty Latin sonnets were collected and published in a now rare volume entitled *Coryciana*, from the name of the German prelate who ordered it. These poetical effusions were probably prompted less by admiration for the group than by

[1] Litta, *Famiglie Celebri*, vide 'Famiglia Sforza.'

CARDINAL ASCANIO MARIA SFORZA

gratitude to James Corycius, who was a great patron of literary men, and who every year, on the feast of St. Anne, his tutelary saint, gave a splendid entertainment, at which his guests engaged in literary discussions, and displayed their erudition.[1]

Sculpture at Loreto.

In 1513, Sansavino was sent by Pope Leo X. to Loreto to model and superintend the execution of the bas-reliefs on the exterior of the marble temple which encloses the Santa Casa. No more lamentable proof of the great inferiority of Tuscan sculpture during the first thirty years of the sixteenth century to that of the fifteenth, is to be found, than these elaborate works, which contain not a trace of that exquisite taste and sentiment which marked the works of the earlier masters. Those finished by Sansavino himself are indeed far better than the rest, but even they in no wise deserve the praises which have been heaped upon them.

Take for instance the Nativity, which is an example of *pictorial* sculpture, deprived of all that excused it in the hands of Ghiberti and Rossellino; note the utter absence of repose in the treatment of a subject which should be peaceful and quiet above all others. All the figures seem possessed by the demon of unrest; the shepherds hurry, St. Joseph hurries, the angels hurry, and the Madonna who bends over the Infant is in sympathy with them. We feel inclined to hurry away also, pausing only to look at the Annunciation, which Vasari calls a miracle of art, but which, alas! gives us little more satisfaction, with its shrinking Virgin, its curtseying angel, its sharp clouds which look like bundles of spears, its vaunted vase of flowers, whose stems and leaves have been a thousand times outdone by the Renaissance sculptors, and its background cut up by angular and jarring architectural lines.

The group of angels floating over the bed of the Madonna, in the relief which represents her death, is the only really pleasing

[1] Among the works attributed to Sansavino at Rome, but without other proof than resemblance of style, are a small Christ on the Gratus monument, and the tomb of Pietro Vicenzo, Bishop of Cesena, at Ara Cœli, and the Armellini monument at Santa Maria in Trastevere.

piece of work to be found in the whole series. The bas-relief was designed and commenced by Sansavino, and terminated by Domenico Aimo, surnamed 'Il Bolognese;' as were the Birth and Marriage of the Virgin, and the Adoration, with the help of Bandinelli, Tribolo, and Montelupo.

While superintending these works at Loreto, Sansavino employed himself in fortifying that town, and in agricultural pursuits at his native town of Monte San Savino. He afterwards returned to Rome and died there in the year 1529.

Dies at Rome A.D. 1529.

Though inventive and skilful, he was mannered in his later works, seldom interesting at any period, always wanting in repose, and aiming at effect—in short, cold, correct, and shallow; sometimes favourably influencing the judgment, but never touching the heart. While we thus judge him it must not be forgotten that he worked at Rome during part of the reign of Leo X., when Michael Angelo and Raphael were both in the ascendant, shining with a light which made all lesser luminaries grow pale, and it cannot be denied that to have made a distinguished reputation at such a time, is no small proof of merit.

Jacopo Sansavino, B. 1477. D. 1570.

His most remarkable pupil was Jacopo Tatti, known as Jacopo Sansavino, whom he received into his studio soon after his return from Spain. Jacopo's father, Antonio, wished his son to be a merchant, but his mother, whose ambitious mind was filled with the fame of Michael Angelo, fostered his love of art, and finally persuaded her husband to allow him to become a sculptor. He first appeared before the public as a competitor with Raffaello di Montelupo for a statue of St. John the Evangelist, and his model, though not accepted, was highly thought of by the best judges, and so much admired by his friend Andrea del Sarto that he reproduced it in the St. John of the Madonna delle Arpie.[1] Shortly

[1] In the Tribune at the Uffizi. Nanni Unghero, the wood carver, one of Jacopo's early patrons, became possessor of the model of this figure. Temanza, *Vita di Sansavino*, p. 200.

after his master went to Rome, Jacopo followed him in company with the famous architect Giuliano di Sangallo, under whose instruction he laid the foundation of his great architectural knowledge, and while there associated with artists of the old and of the new schools of art, who live for us in works so widely sundered in style, that we can hardly imagine them to have ever dwelt together. These men were on the one hand, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Luca Signorelli,[1] and on the other, Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael. After living for some time with Sangallo, Jacopo took up his abode in the palace of the Cardinal di San Clemente with Perugino, for whom he modelled a Deposition (which after many vicissitudes has found its way to the Museum at South Kensington) and many figures in wax to serve as models, though it seems difficult to understand how the aged painter could have used the designs of an artist who from the first showed himself to be a disciple of the new school, the principles of which were not at all in accordance with his 'bella maniera.'

Goes to Rome.

Bramante's friendship was natural enough, and of immense service to the young sculptor and architect, since, through him, he obtained entrance to the Vatican, where he made a model of the Laocoon which was cast in bronze,[2] and found both profit and emolument in restoring antique statues for Pope Julius, who expressed his satisfaction in the most flattering terms. When obliged by ill health to leave Rome, he returned to Florence, where he renewed his friendship with Andrea del Sarto and Nanni Unghero, in whose studio he met Tribolo and Pippo Fabro, who became his scholars.

He returns to Florence.

[1] Perugino resided at Rome, and painted in the Sistine Chapel between 1480 and 1495. At this time he was working in the Torre Borgia; he died in 1524. Signorelli painted in the Sistine Chapel about 1484; he died in 1523. Pinturicchio finished the Ara Cœli frescos in 1500; and died in 1513.

[2] Cardinal Grimani, who purchased it, left it by will to the Venetian Signory, by whom it was given to the Cardinal de Lorraine, who took it with him to France.

The Bacchus of the Uffizi.

Fresh from Rome and its classic influence, Jacopo now modelled a nude Bacchus, one of the best statues ever conceived in the antique spirit. It represents the youthful god crowned with vine leaves, in the act of raising to his lips a cup filled with the juice pressed from a bunch of grapes which he holds in his right hand close to the mouth of a young satyr, who sits upon the ground behind him. The action of the figure is extremely easy, and its forms and proportions are correct and elegant.[1] One cannot look at it without recalling the fate of poor Pippo Fabro, his model, who, in consequence of standing naked in a cold studio, became ill, lost his mind, and finally died. It is touching to read that in his paroxysms of madness he would pose for hours as the Bacchus, with which he had completely identified himself.

Divers works of this period.

About this time Jacopo made a Venus for Giovanni Gaddi, a statue of St. James for the Duomo at Florence, and many bas-reliefs and statues of the apostles, to decorate a temporary wooden façade for the Duomo, which he designed and erected in honour of the triumphal entry of Pope Leo X. into Florence.[2]

A.D. 1511.

The admiration which was expressed for this ephemeral piece of architecture excited Jacopo's hopes that the Pope would commission him to build the façade of San Lorenzo, but here he was disappointed, for when he carried his design to the Vatican he found himself forestalled by Michael Angelo.

Madonna at S. Agostino.

During this second visit to Rome he made the colossal Madonna,[3] which sits bedizened with gems in the church of Sant' Agostino. It alone among his works, shows marks of Michael Angelo's all-pervading influence, in the massive structure of the figure, in the pose of the hand, and the lines of the drapery. He also made a

[1] This statue which was made for a Signor Bartolini, formed a part of the Medici collections, and thence passed to the Uffizi. In 1762 it was split in pieces by fire, and though skilfully restored, is said to have lost much of its primitive beauty.

[2] Andrea del Sarto and Andrea di Cosimo executed the pictorial decorations.

[3] Commissioned by Giovanni Martelli. The statue of S. Jacopo in the Chiesa degli Spagnuoli was also made at this time for the Cardinal Aborense.

design for the new church which the Florentines desired to build at Rome, in the Strada Giulia, in honour of their patron saint, the acceptance of which was all the more honourable to him, as Raphael, Antonio di Sangallo, and Baldassar Peruzzi also competed for the prize. Unfortunately, he injured himself so severely by a fall, before the foundations of the building were laid, that he was obliged to leave the work in the hands of Antonio di Sangallo, and return to Florence, whence he soon went to Venice.

Jacopo's first visit to Venice.

Shortly before this time, the Doge, Andrea Gritti, had vainly applied to several Venetian architects to save the cupolas of St. Mark's, which, being in a ruinous condition, were likely to fall at any moment; and when Cardinal Grimani told him that Jacopo Sansavino, perhaps the only man in the world who could prevent the catastrophe, had arrived in Venice, he besought him to undertake the work. This he agreed to do, but, hearing of the death of Pope Adrian IV. during whose reign art had lain dormant, and of the election of Clement VII., who, being a Medici, was expected to revive the golden days of Pope Leo, he did not scruple to break his promise, and returned to Rome to resume his post as architect of the Florentine Church; but when the Constable de Bourbon besieged the doomed city, he again went to Venice, where he found the Signory and his friends Titian and Pietro Aretino anxious to retain him, and decided to take up his abode there. As Protomastro of the Republic, which gave him charge over St. Mark's, the Campanile, the Piazza, and the adjacent buildings, with a handsome salary and a house, he now entered upon the second and most important period of his career, which ended only with his long life.[1]

A.D. 1523.

Returns to Rome.

A.D. 1527.

Second visit to Venice, where he establishes himself.

Gifted by nature with talents of a high order, no man ever had greater advantages for instruction in his profession than Jacopo Sansavino. Educated at Florence, where all that was best in art

Jacopo's education as architect and sculptor.

[1] Temanza, p. 213; Selvatico, p. 278, *et seq.*; Vasari, vol. xiii. p. 81.

daily met his eyes during the most impressionable period of life, he studied sculpture and architecture under the best masters of his day, lived much at Rome where he measured and drew ancient buildings, and restored antique statues, and consorted with the most renowned artists of his time. He had in short everything by nature and education, excepting that pure taste which would have led him to follow the steps of Brunelleschi and Michelozzo, instead of the license of later architects.

Works at Venice.

His first work in Venice was the restoration of the cupolas of St. Mark's, in which he was so successful that the senate increased his salary to the sum of 280 ducats a year. Upon this followed the completion of the Scuola della Misericordia; the building of the interior of S. Francesco della Vigna; and of the Zecca, which is considered one of the most effective edifices of the sixteenth century, notwithstanding its overloaded façade and its complication of architectural orders; of the Fabbriche Nuove, which, like many of his buildings wants solidity of effect; and of the Loggietta of the Campanile, whose profusely overloaded walls contrast disadvantageously with the grand and simple mass of the tower which rises above them. In its four niches are statues of David (see Plate XXXVII.), Apollo, Mercury, and Minerva, cleverly designed and modelled, but contorted in movement, and wanting in repose.

It has been said that Sansavino was not led into this exaggerated style of sculpture by the dominant influence of Michael Angelo alone, but by the style of architecture prevalent at the time, which demanded in the figures that decorated it, a more decided alternation of straight and curved lines, produced by bolder development of muscles, and greater action of limbs, in accordance with the principle which makes the orator exaggerate his gestures, and raise his voice, that he may produce an effect even upon the most distant hearers;[1] but this, instead of being

[1] Selvatico, *op. cit.* p. 302.

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an apology for the sculptor, is a condemnation of both the architecture and the sculpture.

It seems indeed hardly credible that the man who had made the Bacchus of the Uffizi, could have afterwards sculptured the giants which, under the names of Mars and Neptune, disfigure the Scala d'Oro,[1] one of his best architectural works. They, as well as those upon the monument which he erected to the Doge Francesco Venier in the church of San Salvatore, show that he did not know how to adapt his statues to the places they were to occupy; that his mind was taken up with their decorative effect, without regard to truth of character.

The four Evangelists on the balustrade of the high altar of St. Mark's, the bronze bas-reliefs of the sacristy, upon which he worked at intervals during thirty years, and the six small reliefs in bronze around the choir, which are little more than a confused mass of heads, arms and legs, are further examples of the degeneration of his style. The little statue of St. John on a holy water vase in the Frari has more of his early manner, and the bronze figure of St. Thomas of Ravenna over the door of San Giuliano, with the terra-cotta Madonna in the Loggietta, are better than any of his purely decorative statues.

His architectural masterpiece, the Public Library, built to contain the books left to the Republic by Petrarch, and the Cardinals Grimani and Bessarion, has three façades, and is two stories in height, the first being Doric, and the second Ionic, above which runs a continuous balustrade, adorned with statues sculptured by Sansavino's pupils. Palladio pronounced it the richest and most ornate building erected in modern times, but did not add the most beautiful, for in many ways it must have shocked this rigid follower of Vitruvius. The falling in of the roof of this building, while in process of construction, was a source of great A.D. 1545. mortification to Sansavino, who was in consequence deprived of

[1] So called from the richness of its ornamentation.

his office under government, heavily fined and imprisoned, and not fully restored to his honours until he had completed it three years later. He owed his liberation to the exertions of his scholar Danese Cattaneo, and his friend Pietro Aretino. It is so rare to find any proof of good qualities in the latter, that we gladly quote the letter to Titian, then at Rome, in which he says, 'I can hardly restrain my tears; instead of sleeping I spent a whole night in thinking to what a pitch of ignominy fortune had brought so virtuous and so honest a person; judging it to be cruelly strange that the work which was to have been the ark of our brother's glory, should have become the tomb of his fame.'[1]

Among the palaces built by Jacopo at Venice were the Cornaro and Marino on the Grand Canal; and among the churches those of San Gimignano, San Giorgio de' Greci, and San Giuliano. In these, as in all his buildings, we are first struck with the parts which ought to be subordinate, and thus get an impression of rich detail, at the expense of breadth and structural mass.

To the sculptures already mentioned as by this artist, we have only to add a Madonna in the Court of the Arsenal, the Poducatoro monument at San Sebastian, and a very mediocre bas-relief; in the splendid chapel which he built for the church of St. Anthony at Padua.

Constantly occupied to the last in the duties of his profession, Jacopo Sansavino died at Venice, in 1570, being ninety-one years old, and having passed forty-one years of his life there. He was buried in the church of San Gimignano, whence his bones were removed in the beginning of this century to Sta. Maria della Salute, where a bust of him, by his scholar Alessandro Vittoria, marks his grave.

Summary of his qualities.

Few artists have had a more prosperous career, enjoyed more unvaryingly the smiles of fortune, and the patronage and favour

[1] P. Aretino, *Lettere*, book iii. p. 360.

of the great and powerful of the earth. The Italian princes vied with each other in doing him honour. Alessandro de' Medici and Cosimo I. wished to retain his services, as did Duke Ercole of Ferrara, Pope Paul III., and King Philip of Spain. But their proposals were in vain; he had lived in Venice too long, and was too highly honoured there, to run the risk of exchanging his position for another, however flattering in prospect.

Enough has been said to show that his architecture was generally overloaded with ornament, and that his architectural statues were mannered and contorted in style, and decidedly inferior to his single figures, among which those of his early period are in many respects excellent. His influence was great over all Italy, as he founded schools in each of the three cities where he dwelt. From those of Florence and Rome issued Tribolo, Il Solismeo, Luca Lancia, and Bartolomeo Ammanati; and from that of Venice, Danese Cattaneo, Alessandro Vittoria, Girolamo da Ferrara, Tiziano, Segala di Padova and others, who exaggerated their master's bad tendencies, until architecture and sculpture sank into the wild extravagances of the 'Baroque.' No man has ever left his impress so strongly upon a city, as Sansavino his upon Venice; turn where we will, some church or palace meets the eye which owes its existence to him; it is therefore much to be regretted that his style with all its richness and picturesqueness was not purer, and that so much genius should have produced works which were fruitful of evil to the rising generation.

Francesco di Sangallo, son of Giuliano the famous architect, was another scholar of Andrea Sansavino, a man of talent bred in a good school, who appears mediocre if compared with the great artists of the fifteenth century, but is decidedly superior to many of the sixteenth. Francesco di Sangallo. N. 1493. M. 1570.

His best work is the statue of Lionardo Bonafede, Bishop of Cortona (see Tail-piece) and Superior of the Florentine Certosa, which lies in the middle of the pavement of a chapel of that

convent; it is very carefully modelled, the flesh parts are well treated, and the drapery is disposed in natural folds. It has almost the effect of a corpse laid out for burial before the altar, and produces a striking effect. Two only of Francesco's works remind us of his master, namely a group of the Virgin and Child with S. Anne, at Or San Michele, which is far less worthy of a *Coryciana* than Andrea's group at Rome of the same subject; and the monument of Bishop Angelo Marzi[1] in the Annunziata, whose statue resembles those of the cardinals sculptured by Andrea Sansavino at Sta. Maria del Popolo in attitude, though not in the drapery, which is frittered away in tormented folds.

Group at Or San Michele, dated 1526.

The statue of Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, in the cloisters of San Lorenzo, is a creditable, but by no means a striking work by this sculptor.[2] His also are two heads in bas-relief at Sta. Maria Primerana di Fiesole, of the Madonna and San Rocco, which, from the inscription upon them, must have been sculptured and given to the church by him in fulfilment of a vow made in time of sickness. Perhaps the poorest of his works is the monument of Piero de' Medici in the church of the Convent of Monte Cassino. A portion of it has been ascribed to his father Giuliano di Sangallo[3] but to this we cannot agree, judging from the monument by the latter to Francesco Sassetti, in the Cappella

Finished in 1558.

Giuliano di Sangallo.

[1] This prelate, who was learned in civil and ecclesiastical law, was persuaded by Cosimo I. to give up the Church, and take upon himself the cares of State. Grateful for his services, and much attached to him personally, Cosimo allowed him to call himself Angelo Marzi Medici.

[2] Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, author of the History of his own Times; which is written in a turgid style, and is more remarkable for adulation than truth. He was wont to say that he wrote with two pens—one of gold, and the other of iron.

[3] Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, vol. xii., says that the architectural portion of this tomb only is by Francesco. The statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, that of Piero, and the bas-relief of the Resurrection of our Lord, are by Antonio di Sangallo; the other reliefs are by Matteo di Quaranta, a Neapolitan sculptor. It was ordered by Clement VII.

Sassetti at Sta. Trinità at Florence, which is quite in the style of the quattrocento, and vastly superior in taste and technical handling to any of Francesco's works.[1] It consists of a sarcophagus of classical form, set under an arch, upon the base of which are sculptured an infinite number of little figures performing funeral obsequies, and sacrificing a lamb upon a tripod. The centre of the slab is occupied by a medallion portrait of Sassetti, flat in relief, and realistic in style.

CHRONOLOGY.

ANDREA CONTUCCI DI MONTE SANSAVINO—	A.D.
Born	1460
Altar of the Corbinelli Chapel in S. Spirito at Florence. Goes to Spain	1490–1491
Bas-relief in bronze, and statue of St. Mark. Church of St. Mark, Coimbra. Returns to Florence	1500
Font in the Baptistry at Volterra	1502
Madonna and Child. Duomo, Genoa. Group of St. John baptising our Lord, Florence.	1504
Monuments of Cardinal G. B. della Rovere, and of Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza in S. M. del Popolo, Rome	1509–1513
Group of Madonna and Child, and St. Anne, in S. Agostino, Rome, before	1513
Goes to Loreto	1513
Bas-reliefs of the Nativity, the Annunciation, Group of Angels in the death of the Madonna, sculptured; and those of the Birth and Marriage of the Virgin, and the Adoration, designed by him for the Sta. Casa.	
Dies at Rome	1529
JACOPO TATTI, called SANSAVINO—	
Born	1477

[1] There is a chimney-piece by Giuliano di Sangallo in Casa Gondi. The Sassetti monument is engraved at Tav. 45, in Gozzini's *Mon. Sep. della Toscana*. Vasari, vol. vii., *Vita di Giuliano di Sangallo*, makes no mention of him as author of this monument.

	A.D.
Goes to Rome after	1509
Returns to Florence and sculptures a marble statue of Bacchus; ditto of St. James, for the Duomo, circa . . .	1511
Returns to Rome. Sculptures the Madonna for the church of S. Agostino. Goes to Florence and Venice. Returns to Rome	1523
Architect of the church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini. Leaves Rome for Venice	1527
Appointed Protomastro, and for the remainder of his life lives at Venice, where he builds many important edifices	1527–1570
Dies at Venice in	1570

FRANCESCO DI SANGALLO—

Born	1498
Statue of L. Bonafede, Bishop of Cortona, in a chapel of the Certosa near Florence. Group of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne at Or San Michele. Monument of Bishop Angelo Marzi in the Annunziata	1546
Statue of Paolo Giovio, cloister of S. Lorenzo. Monument to Piero de' Medici, chapel of Convent of Monte Cassino .	1558
Dies	1570

GIULIANO DI SANGALLO—

Born	1443
Monument to Francesco Sassetti in the church of Sta. Trinità at Florence. Chimney-piece in Casa Gondi, after .	1494
Dies at Florence	1517

BISHOP BONAFEDE. (By Francesco di Sangallo.)

CHAPTER X.

BENEDETTO DA ROVEZZANO AND PIERO TORREGIANO.

Benedetto di Rovezzano.

BENEDETTO DI BARTOLOMEO GUARLOTTI, who was born at Rovezzano (a small town near Florence), in the latter part of the fifteenth century, was especially distinguished as a sculptor of ornament, which he designed with a peculiar sense of fitness; and for his skill in working out small figures and decorative emblems in his bas-reliefs so nearly in the round, that, by their contrast with the graduated relief of the other portions, they produced a novel and striking effect. These peculiar excellencies are conspicuous in the very beautiful chimney-piece of the Casa Roselli,[1] as well as in the tomb of Piero Soderini in the church of the Carmine at Florence, whose simple architecture is most effectively relieved by skulls, cross-bones, and other mortuary emblems, sculptured in every variety of relief upon the sarcophagus, as well as upon the pilasters and flat surfaces of the arch under which it stands.

Piero Soderini.

The ex-gonfaloniere who lies buried here deserved such posthumous honour from a city which had repaid his signal services by banishment, making small account of that disinterested patriotism to which Leo X. bore witness when he said, that out of the hundreds of exiles, who entreated him to espouse their cause and save Florence, but two overlooked their private wrongs and selfish interests, one, Piero Soderini, a really wise man, the other, Carafalla, a notable fool.

His monument in the Carmine.

The ornaments upon this tomb are repeated upon that erected

[1] Cicognara, *vide* vol. ii. plate xxx.

by Rovezzano in the church of the SS. Apostoli to the memory
M. 1507. of its patron, Prior Oddo Altoviti.[1] Its pilasters are covered with arabesque work as delicate in handling, and the skulls are sculptured with equal boldness upon the sarcophagus, which is supported upon Harpies, whose faces are of singular beauty. He also designed the door of this church, and sculptured the arms of the Altoviti above it.

Excellent as Rovezzano proved himself to be in bas-relief and ornamental work, he was not successful in single statues, if we may judge by the uninteresting and heavily-draped figure of St. John the Evangelist, in the Duomo at Florence.

Monument to San Giovanni Gualberto.

His greatest work was the monument of San Giovanni Gualberto, founder of the famous convent of Vallombrosa,[2] which, after being left for fifteen years in the sculptor's studio outside the Porta Santa Croce, on account of the violent dissensions of the monks who had ordered it, was broken to pieces by the papal and imperial soldiers during the siege of 1530. Of the many life-size statues belonging to it, which stood in niches divided by pilasters, none escaped; and of its bas-reliefs but five, which are now preserved in the Gallery of Tuscan Sculpture at the Uffizi. They represent:—1. San Pietro Igneo, passing unscathed through the flames by the help of San Giovanni Gualberto. 2. The monk Florenzio liberated from a demon. 3. His death and funeral

[1] 'Gerne erinnert man sich noch heute des Kunstgeschmacks des Hauses der Altoviti, wenn man in der kleinen, aber schönen und merkwürdigen Kirche SS. Apostoli zu Florenz ihre Denkmäler sieht, deren zierlichstes und vollendetstes ein dem Jahr 1507 gehörendes Werk des B. da Rovezzano ist, das Grabmal Oddo Altoviti's, Priors der Kirche, während eine Gedächtnisstafel an Bindo erinnert, der, wie man glaubt, in der Kirche S. Trinità zu Rom, eine durch keinen Stein bezeichnete Ruhestätte fand.'—*Beiträge von Reumont*, vol. iii. p. 376.

[2] Vasari says he began it in 1515, and worked ten years upon it. This, however, is proved to be inexact by the mention which Albertini makes of it as in progress in 1511. 'Benedetto Rovezzano il quale fa quella di Sancto Gualberto.' Vide *Mem. di molte Statue e Pitture della Città di Firenze*, di F. Albertini, published in *Ricordo di Nozze*, by G. Milanesi, 1863, p. 16.

obsequies. 4. The removal of the saint's body from Passignano. 5. The monks of San Salvi attacked by heretics.

Though many of these figures are sadly mutilated, enough remains to attest their original excellence. The most beautiful is, perhaps, that of the funeral procession (see Plate XXXVIII.), in which the saint lies on a bier, which is borne aloft on the shoulders of monks. An angel with open wings walks beside the corpse, and a boy possessed with a devil, who has been brought to meet it in hope of cure, struggles in the arms of his keepers. (See Tail-piece.) His distressed countenance and writhing form contrast most strikingly with the calm repose of the dead saint, and the bright beauty of the attendant angel. Another excellent composition is that in which San Giovanni is represented beside the couch of the monk Florenzio, who covers his face with his hands, to shut out the sight of a demon from whom he has been delivered by the saint's prayers. The other three bas-reliefs are mere fragments; hardly a head remains upon any one of the figures.

Tomb of Cardinal Wolsey.

The same evil destiny attended the tomb of Cardinal Wolsey, which Rovezzano began soon after his arrival in England in 1524. He worked five years upon it before the cardinal's disgrace, after which, he was ordered by King Henry VIII. to complete it for him, but, as it was not finished when the king died, his body was temporarily deposited with that of his queen, Jane Seymour, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. After the execution of King Charles I., who himself intended to be buried in it, the parliament ordered its rich copper figures to be melted down, sparing the sarcophagus, in which ultimately the body of Lord Nelson was enclosed. Ordered in the plenitude of his power by Cardinal Wolsey, who was destined to die disgraced and broken-hearted; selected for his tomb by a king whose head was to fall upon the scaffold; and finally tenanted by the hero of Trafalgar, this monument furnishes a striking commentary upon the futility of man's projects, as does the history of its sculptor upon the disappointments of life. The two great works which would have immortalised

which Torregiano bound himself 'to make and work, or do to be made and wrought,' to stand within the screen, was destroyed during the Civil Wars by Sir Robert Harlow, who, says a chronicler, 'after breaking into Henry VII.'s chapel, brake down the altar stone which stood before that goodly monument of Henry VII.'[1] From an indenture found among Cardinal Wolsey's papers, we learn that Torregiano contracted to make the tomb of Henry VIII., which, as we have seen, was eventually entrusted to Rovezzano.[2] From its similarity of style, he is also supposed to have made the monument of Margaret, Countess of Richmond,[3] which stands in a chapel adjoining that of her son King Henry VII. Her effigy, which is in copper (originally gilt), represents her dressed in a plain mourning habit, with her feet resting on a collared antelope, the Lancastrian emblem. The face and heads seem to have been cast from life, the drapery is simply and well disposed, and the work technically excellent. Horace Walpole had a head by Torregiano in his possession, which was supposed to represent Henry VII. in the agonies of death; this head, which in no wise resembles the king, has been said to have been made in imitation of one of the youths in the group of the Laocoon.[4] Vertue also ascribes to Torregiano the tomb of Dr. Young, Master of the Rolls, in the Chancery Lane Chapel, at London. The

[1] Dr. Ryves, *Angliæ Ruina.* Neale, *op. cit.*

[2] 'Whereas Peter Torrysany of the citie of Florence, graver, did formerly agree to make the tombs of Henry VII. and his queen Elizabeth, for 1500*l.*, a sepulture of whit marbill and of black touchstone, with ymags, figures, beasts, and other things of coppure gilt; that he now agrees to make another tombe or sepulture of whit marbill and of black touchstone, of the same our most dread sovreign Lorde the Kyng, and the most excellent princesse, Katoryn, &c. &c., for 2000*l.* to be completed in four years.'—*Archæologia*, vol. xvi. p. 84.

[3] Daughter of John of Gaunt; she founded Christ and St. John's colleges at Cambridge, and was noted for her literary tastes and her charitable disposition. See Neale, *op. cit.* p. 69, and Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 104.

[4] Now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland. It is engraved in J. Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, vol. ii. plate xl. p. 44.

recumbent terra-cotta figure, which is simple and lifelike, lies upon a stone sarcophagus of early Renaissance style, under a low arch, above which are placed a good head of Christ and two angels in terra-cotta. It is less mannered than other works by this master, and its Italian character strikes the eye agreeably in a foreign land.

Though fortune thus smiled upon him, Torregiano's restless spirit led him to leave England for Spain, and failing to obtain the commission for the then contemplated monuments to Ferdinand and Isabella, he settled at Seville, where he probably remained during the rest of his life. The works ascribed to this portion of his career are a crucifix, a terra-cotta statue of St. Jerome, and a group of the Madonna and Child, all made for the Geronomite church at Seville; and an alto-relief of Charity, for the tympanum of a door in the Cathedral of Grenada. Of these, the only one at all well authenticated, and this not by documentary evidence, is the statue of St. Jerome in penitence, now preserved in the Museum at Seville.[1] The figure, which is realistic in treatment, and carefully modelled, represents the Saint, draped only about the loins, as kneeling upon one knee, holding a cross in one hand and a stone in the other. Like all Spanish sculpture of the period, it was originally painted to resemble life. If really by Torregiano, as has always been supposed, he probably availed himself of the skill of the semi-moorish potters who lived in the Friana suburb at Seville, or of that of some of the many workmen in terra-cotta who filled the south of Spain, and that city especially, with works in this material on a monumental scale; as it is hardly to be supposed that, during his short residence in Spain, he could have acquired such complete mastery over the great difficulties, especially in regard to firing,

Torregiano goes to Spain

[1] This figure is well known out of Spain by casts, the original of which, procured by Baron Taylor for King Louis Philippe, exists at the Louvre. There is a duplicate in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

attendant upon the execution of a work of such size in terra-cotta.[1]

The St. Jerome is so much superior in every respect to the life-sized terra-cotta Virgin in the Seville Museum ascribed to Torregiano, that we may safely affirm he cannot be the author of both. In connection with the marble group of the Madonna and Child, which he is said to have made for the Geronomite Church at Seville,[2] we have the following melancholy history of the poor sculptor's death, which is more or less apocryphal. A duplicate of it, says tradition, having been ordered by the duke D'Arcos, a Spanish nobleman, he, in payment, sent Torregiano a bag full of maravedis, amounting to only thirty ducats. Insulted by so pitiful a recompense, the passionate artist seized a hammer and shattered his group to fragments. Angry at being thus deprived of it, the duke revenged himself upon the sculptor by denouncing him to the Inquisition as an impious heretic, who had dared to destroy the image of the mother of God, in con-

[1] My friend J. C. Robinson, Esq., has obligingly furnished me with the following note. 'The statues and alto-relievos of very large dimensions in the pediments of the pointed arches of several of the great doorways of the Cathedral (at Seville) and the crowds of statues of saints of colossal proportions which adorn the screen walls at the sides, and behind the High Altar, ('respaldos del Coro del Cappella Mayor') may be introduced in point. These are all works of unusual dimensions by Spanish gothic artists of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.' As regards Torregiano's authorship of the St. Jerome he says: 'There is, I believe, no documentary or other absolutely certain evidence to fix it as such, and it may be noted that masterly as the work really is, more than one of the great Spanish sculptors of the first half of the fifteenth century may have been capable even of so extraordinary an achievement. There exists indeed in the Cathedral of Burgos (side of an altar in the Cappella del Conestable) a small but very famous alto-relief of the same subject ascribed to Becerra, which is very like the Torregiano statue in its general style and treatment; probably, however, Torregiano's work may have served as a model to Becerra, for I must admit that it is unlike the other works of Becerra known to me. Becerra at all events was a very great artist, one of the great Spanish pupils or followers of Michael Angelo, and fully Torregiano's equal.'

[2] From a fragment of which we possess the cast of a hand with drapery, called the 'mano a la teta,' very commonly met with in Spanish studios.

sequence of which he was thrown into prison, and falling into a profound melancholy, refused all nourishment, and thus starved himself to death.[1]

The last work which we have to mention among those attributed to this sculptor is the colossal alto-relief of Charity, which fills the tympanum of an inner doorway on the north side of the nave, near the west end of the cathedral at Granada. That this is not his work, but rather that of Diego de Ailoe, the architect of the building, whose skill as a sculptor is proved by many works in different parts of the same edifice, seems past doubt.[2]

As Torregiano closes a period in the history of sculpture in Tuscany, it will perhaps be well to sum up the characteristics of this, as well as of the earlier periods, before examining into the life of his great contemporary Michael Angelo, who resumed within himself that which followed.

First period.

As the art of composition, adequate modes of expression, and technical excellence, had been lost sight of before the first period, which extended from Niccola to Andrea Pisano, these artists were obliged to re-create them through the study of nature and the antique, and their recognition of the necessity of such guidance is an important part of their merit, and the real cause of their success. With earnestness of purpose, simplicity of feeling, and faith, they addressed themselves to their great task, and like the pioneer who clears away the primæval forest, freed the

[1] This story is denied by Quilliet (*Arti Italiane in Ispagna*, pp. 6 and 7), on the ground that no such statue exists in Spain, and that no one of the grandees of that country, who were notoriously liberal to artists, could have been guilty of such an act.

[2] The work in question (says Mr. Robinson) 'is surrounded by fine cartouche and arabesque work in the most characteristic Spanish plateresco style; it is in the same stone as the rest of the building, and was in fact executed "en place," that is, sculptured out of the rough blocked-out stone left expressly for it when the church was built, an eminent proof that it formed part of the original design of the Architect. The rich ornaments and figures beneath, are all moreover by the same hand, but not a word more need be said about it, as it is certainly not by Torregiano.'

ground from a dense growth of error, and let the sunlight into dark places. Thus they smoothed the way for their successors, who with increased knowledge, made rapid progress in every artistic quality of mind and hand, and while they expressed a greater depth of thought, by an allegorical and mystical treatment, lost none of their precious freshness of expression. This period, which extended from Andrea Pisano to Orcagna, was greatly influenced by Giotto, and corresponds to the so-called pre-Raphaelite epoch in the history of painting. After them came Ghiberti and Donatello, consummate artists, who made perfect use of means to end; and Mino, Desiderio, Rossellino, and the Majani, who used plastic materials with the utmost refinement. Gradually however finish, which was at first but an accessory to art, became its principal aim; and thought, of secondary importance to outward surface. To the earlier artists, what they said was of far more importance than how they said it; but when they were tempted by their great technical knowledge to esteem finish as the highest quality, art fell into decadence. The artist had first spoken because he had something to say; then perceiving that he might say it better, he reached a more perfect stage. Lastly he aimed solely at beauty of surface, and thought died; upon the death of which vital principle, technical perfection also expired and nullity remained.

Second period.

Third period.

This was the case in the fourth period, which was inaugurated by Sansavino, whose early works bear traces of the good school in which he was bred, and by his scholar, Jacopo Tatti, who with an equally good beginning fell finally into confusion and extravagance. Rovezzano was the last trace of daylight in the sky, the lingering light from a sun which had set. Night came on, and Tuscan Sculpture seemed to have faded away, when suddenly Michael Angelo appeared, and while he lived and worked drew all men's eyes upon him. What he was, what he accomplished, and how he influenced the men of his time, we shall endeavour to show in the next volume.

Fourth period.